DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 473 793 CS 511 778

TITLE	Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (85th, Miami, Florida, August 5-8, 2002). History Division.
PUB DATE	2002-08-00
NOTE	375p.; For other sections of these proceedings, see CS 511 769-787.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Proceedings (021) -- Reports - Research (143)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01/PC16 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Childrens Television; Females; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; Japanese; *Journalism Education; *Journalism History; Libel and Slander; Media Coverage; *Newspapers; Obscenity; Periodicals; Public Relations; Radio; Social Status; World War II
IDENTIFIERS	Alabama; Black Press; Brennan (William J); Douglass (Frederick); Great Britain; Japanese Relocation Camps; *Journalists; New York Times; Radical Press; Supreme Court

ABSTRACT

The History Division of the proceedings contains the following 13 papers: "Repositioning Radio: NBC & the 'Kitchen Radio Campaign' of 1953" (Glenda C. Williams); "The 'Poor Man's Guardian': Radicalism as a Precursor to Marxism" (Eugenie P. Almeida); "Magazine Coverage of Katharine Meyer Graham, 1963-1975" (Mary Rinkoski); "Building Resentment: How the Alabama Press Prepared the Ground for 'New York Times v. Sullivan'" (Doug Cumming); "Conjunction Junction, What Was Your Function? The Use of 'Schoolhouse Rock' to Quiet Critics of Children's Television" (David S. Silverman); "Suppression of An Enemy Language During World War II: Prohibition of the Japanese-Language Speech and Expression in Japanese American Assembly Camps" (Takeya Mizuno); "The Adventures of Cuff, Massa Grub, and Dinah Snowball: Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in Frederick Douglass' Hometown Newspapers, 1847" (Frank E. Fee, Jr.); "William Brennan's Century: How a Justice Changed His Mind About Obscenity" (John M. Harris); "The Black Press and Coverage of the Negro Leagues Before and After Integration: When to Stop the Cheering?" (Brian Carroll); "Literature to Form a More Perfect Union: An Examination of the Anti-Saloon League of America's Early Messages and Methods Through a Framework of Public Relations History" (Margot Opdycke Lamme); "Two Steps Forward and One Step Back: Coverage of Women Journalists in 'Editor & Publisher', 1978 through 1988" (Cindy Elmore); "Class Awareness in the Formation of British Journalists, 1886 to the Present" (Anthony Delano); and "'The New York Times' Perpetuates a Madman Stereotype of Charles Guiteau: A Qualitative Content Analysis" (Don Sneed and Elizabeth Sneed). (RS)

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CS 511 778

Repositioning Radio:

NBC & the "Kitchen Radio Campaign" of 1953

Presented to the
History Division, AEJMC
August 7, 2002
Miami, FL

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Introduction

For radio, the early 1950's were a time of great uncertainty. As an industry, radio had reigned supreme for over 20 years; however, the growing interest in television (as noted in eroding radio audiences) brought increasing concern to radio stations & networks. As television advanced, NBC radio executives sought for a way to reposition NBC and build a stronger daytime audience. One such effort was the "Kitchen Radio Campaign" of 1953, a Christmas promotion designed to build the daily "Housewife" audience by purchasing a radio set for the kitchen. Using memos and scripts from the NBC archives at the University of Wisconsin—Madison, this paper examines NBC's Kitchen Radio Campaign and its attempt to reposition radio's place in the American culture.

Background

In 1953, no one could decide the future of radio. Some historians stated that radio was "sensing disaster" (Barnouw, 1975); some were less kind: ". . . everyone knew that radio was a dying medium. Nearly everyone who had a smattering of talent deserted radio for the new medium of television" (Hall & Hall, 1977). Barnouw credits comedian Fred Allen with stating that radio sponsors "were ready to abandon radio like the bones at a barbecue" (1975, p. 145). Still, others were more optimistic: "It has been the general experience that after approximately two years (in a new market), once the novelty of TV has worn off, more and more families return to the elderly medium (radio)" (Gross, 1954,

p. 284, parentheses mine). "Exactly what will happen to radio programming as television continues to expand is still unknown, but the signs point to its continued importance" (Phillips, 1954). What that importance entailed remained to be seen.

One thing was certain, however: radio had to respond to the threat of TV. MacFarland reports that "With more and more listeners becoming viewers, radio ratings and revenues both dropped. Between 1948 and 1952, average ratings of network radio's ten most popular programs were cut almost exactly in half" (p. 17, 1972). Milton Berle, Walter Winchell, Edward R. Murrow, and Jackie Gleason were among the radio personalities that had successfully defected to television (Barnouw, 1975). Additionally, new performers like Lucille Ball ("I Love Lucy") topped the ratings: when Lucy gave birth in January of 1952, Trendex ratings reported that 68% of all television sets tuned in for the telecast (Barnouw, 1975).

For answers on how to proceed, radio turned to research. Initially, the answers were dismal. Although radio set sales continued to climb, whenever television signed on at night, the radio ratings dropped. It was clear that "Where radio once had been a leisure-time 'reward' after a day's work, television was now occupying that role. Radio had come to be viewed less as a treat than as a kind of 'companion' to some other activity" (MacFarland, 1972, p. 27).

Slowly, through various research projects, a new pattern of listening emerged. Results showed that early morning radio listening had increased, and daytime listening was up. Housewives were more interested in the 11:00 to 3:00 programs, but were often occupied with duties in the kitchen during this time (MacFarland, 1972). Additionally, a study in July of 1953 found that 33% of household radio sets were still in the living room-- but 23% of a household's second sets were found in the kitchen (MacFarland, 1972). For NBC, a marketing idea was born.

The Cultural Climate for the Campaign

The timing for the new marketing campaign was excellent. Several factors had fallen into place to create a favorable climate. These included the reemergence of the "portable," a focus on radios as gifts, and the re-introduction of plastic.

"Portable" radios have actually existed commercially since the early 1920s, although the earliest prototypes were large, bulky, and often heavy (Schiffer, 1991). By the 1930s, radio sets were available in camera cases, on bicycles, and as add-ons in cars (Schiffer, 1991). The biggest problem with these portable sets, however, was the cost of batteries: some lasted as little as three to five hours yet cost around $2.50, a hefty sum in the 1930s (Schiffer, 1991). Still, by the 1940s, manufacturers had sold almost four million portable sets in the United States (Schiffer, 1991). While this number was enough to consider the portable a "commercial success," home console sets were favored by most and "the majority of families still did not regard this wonderful product as a necessity" (Schiffer, 1991, p. 127). Then, in April of 1942, World War II brought production of all civilian radios (both home sets and portables) to a screeching halt for the duration of the war (Schiffer, 1991).

The end of the war brought a renewed interest in portables. Americans were not only interested in having more "things," they were also interested in going more places---and the portable radios fit this new lifestyle perfectly (Schiffer, 1991). Additionally, portables boasting "three-way" capability became more popular because they could be electric or battery operated (Schiffer, 1991). Portables soon became the gift of choice for newly weds and for the college-bound set since the new portables were inexpensive and often considered a "necessity" for a new household (Schiffer, 1991).

Probably the biggest boost for portables, however, was the reemergence of plastic. Portable radios with plastic "Bakelite" cases were originally introduced in 1932 (Schiffer, 1991).. Bakelite was brittle and heavy, however, and consumers preferred other types of casings (like leather). Newer brands of plastic, Lumarith and Lustron, emerged in the late 1930s/ early 1940s, but had problems of their own:

> Though lighter and less brittle than bakelite, these plastics had a tendency to shrink, especially when exposed to heat (from a rectifier tube or even sunlight). Many of the magnificent streamlined cases became warped and cracked, and the reputation of the new materials was soon sullied (Schiffer, 1991, p. 124).

By 1950, however, plastic was king. Technological advancements made the material stronger, yet less expensive; it was easily molded and could be shaded practically any color imaginable (Schiffer, 1991). Additionally, the hot rectifier tube was replaced with a new device called a "selenium rectifier" that did not build up heat during usage (Schiffer, 1991). Now plastic portable radios were colorful, lightweight, economical, and convenient. The question now was how to get more of them off the road and into the home.

It was into this setting that NBC launched the new campaign.

The Kitchen Radio Campaign

The first archive evidence of the new campaign is found in a memo dated November 23, 1953. Written by Thaine Engle, Vice President, to Frank Macaulay, Director of

Promotion, the memo claims to be "a resume of our talks with Ted Cott this morning according to my notes" (Memo, 1953). The second item on the memo reveals the reasoning & direction for the new campaign.

> By Friday, November 27th, Mr. Cott wants a plan of attack for daytime radio built around the theme of the amount of time the housewife spends in her kitchen. He said he wanted exact figures on this amount of time.
>
> As I understand it, this campaign would be used around Christmas . . . with the pitch being "buy Mom a radio for Christmas. . ."
>
> Can one of your girls make something of this, since she too is a woman and might know best how to sell a man on the idea of buying something for his wife . . . or implanting the idea in Mom's mind that she needs a radio in her kitchen.
>
> Am I getting through to you? (Memo, Nov. 23, 1953)

Four days later, the promotion department had devised the "Kitchen Radio Campaign." An outline of their strategy shows that their objective was to

> use heavy network air promotion to put radios into the two out of three kitchens that do not have them, by making husbands and housewives aware of their relaxation value . . . actually establishing the idea that a kitchen radio is a must. (Campaign Outline, 1953)

By airing promos during both morning and evening hours, the promotions department hoped to reach "all members of the family" (Campaign Outline, 1953, underline in original). The air schedule called for 25 spots during the day and 10 spots during the evening, Monday through Friday, and five spots over the week-end.

The target audience for this campaign was dubbed "The Housewife Audience," and their listening habits served as the impetus for the design of the campaign. The campaign outline clearly defines this group:

> Women spend, on the average, up to four hours a day in their kitchens. Nearly half that time is spent in meal preparation, the rest in laundry, cleaning and other miscellaneous chores. Yet only one-third of them have radios in their kitchens. The group having kitchen radios does almost half its daily listening in the kitchen . . . including TV homes. The total size of this housewife audience is impressive. The fact sheet notes that thirty-four million homes listen daily during the 6 a.m. – 6 p.m. period . . .most of these are housewives, so with a heavy daytime promotion campaign, we can effectively reach the group most interested in "Kitchen Radio."
> (Campaign Outline, 1953)

The on-air spots were scheduled to begin on Saturday, December 5, and an official NBC Press Release was sent out on December 1, 1953 to herald the new campaign (Press Release, 1953). The headline read: "WHAT'S COOKIN'? PLENTY, ON NBC RADIO! SO NETWORK LAUNCHES JINGLE DRIVE TO PUT RECEIVERS IN THE NATION'S KITCHENS" (Press Release, 1953). The press release makes it clear that "the promotion will not plug any particular make or brand of radio, but will strive instead to encourage housewives to listen to NBC radio. According to surveys, housewives spend more than one quarter of their waking hours in the kitchen" (1953).

The on-air spots had four phases: promos for Mother herself, promos for the family, station IDs, and spots using NBC talent. Each phase stressed the idea of a kitchen radio as the ideal Christmas present.

Promos for Mother

The spots aimed at mother encouraged her to let her family know she wanted a kitchen radio. Some were musical and some were simply a straight read, but all suggested that mother "drop a few hints" to her family. One example started with a musical chorus (to the tune of "Fee Fi-Fiddlio"), then interjected an announcer:

SOMEONE'S IN THE KITCHEN WITH MOTHER
SOMEONE'S IN THE KITCHEN , I KNOW
IT'S EVERY STAR ON NBC
COMING FROM HER RADIO.
(Hum Fee Fi-Fiddlio Refrain under anncr)

ANNCR:

All housewives agree on one thing. It seems that you spend all your time in the kitchen . . . you could make this time really enjoyable by easing along your day with all of NBC's great shows, with comedy, music, and drama. So, drop a few hints around that you'd like to get a radio for your kitchen.

(SPOT III, 1953)

Another spot of this type used a familiar children's rhyme called "The Old Woman Who Lived in a Shoe" with a similar announcement at the end. There is no indication on whether it was sung or chanted, although it was filed with the other musical spots.

THERE WAS A YOUNG WOMAN
WHO LIVED IN A STEW
HER KITCHEN WAS CHEERLESS
HER WORK MADE HER BLUE.
THEN HUBBY FOUND OUT
WHAT A RADIO COULD DO
NOW HER KITCHEN IS GAY
JUST AS YOURS COULD BE, TOO.

> Anncr:
> Yes, your kitchen can be as bright as all the wonderful shows heard on this station. For a survey shows that you homemakers spend over four hours a day in the kitchen, you could ease your day along by tuning in all this wonderful entertainment. So, drop a few hints about how much you'd like getting a radio for your kitchen this Christmas.
>
> (Untitled Copy, 1953)

Yet another type of spot aimed directly at mother was a straight read called "Radio in the Kitchen." Drawing from the information in previous spots, this promo simply tried to reinforce the campaign:

> Did you know that one-third of American homes have a radio in the kitchen . . . and did you ever think that you, the housewife, spend about four or five hours a day in your kitchen. Now think how much easier, pleasanter your work would be with NBC's great lineup of daytime stars and shows to ease your day along. Drop a few hints to the family and get a radio for your kitchen for Christmas.
>
> (Radio in the Kitchen spot, 1953)

Although spots directed at mother comprised the smallest number in the archives, they none-the-less occupied an important role. According to the Campaign Objective, the Housewives themselves were the primary audience, and therefore were a necessary target for the campaign.

Promos for the Family

Most of the spots in the kitchen radio campaign, however, were aimed at the purchasing audience: family members (especially "hubby") who would actually buy the kitchen radio for mother. Except for the few spots written directly for mother, all other spots and IDs were aimed at the family audience. These spots also exhibited some of the most creative aspects of the campaign. The musical jingles were sung by a famous vocal swing quartet called the "Satisfier's" and usually had an announcer reading over the second chorus. Most of these spots used Christmas carols that were very familiar to listeners. The most-used chorus was to the tune of "Jingle Bells":

Jingle bells, jingle bells - - bells of NBC
Oh what joy to cook and bake
While listening merrily;
Pots and pans, sink and stove
Work goes easily;
The kitchen rings with happy chimes
When tuned to NBC;
Dashing to the range
Cooking day and night,
Now it's not so strange
That her spirit's bright.
For her kitchen's gay
With merry listening,
She got a set on Christmas day
Just hear those three chimes ring
(bing bing bing)
N B C - - Oh!
(2 – Kitchen Radio Promotion, 1953)

Most of the musical jingles were much shorter and less developed than "Jingle Bells." Although they also used familiar tunes, they used only one verse or a chorus, seldom both. Additionally, the tunes and the voice-over for the announcer were kept separate; indications are that these were "mixed and matched" for different airings.

(Tune: "I Saw Three Ships Come Sailing In")

I bought three gifts that were to go
In Mother's kitchen—Make her glow
New stove, new sink, new radio
On Christmas day in the morning.

(Tune: "We Three Kings")

We wise kitchen experts know
To cook and wash to radio
Makes work easy, quick, and breezy
Makes Mom's scull'ry dullry go.

(Tune: "Deck the Halls")

Deck the shelves with fun and frolic
Tra la la la with a radio
Her kitchen's never melancholic
Fa la la la with a radio.

(Tune: "O Tannenbaum")

O Christmas Tree, O Tannenbaum
What's underneath thee for our mom?
It s a brand new radio
And to her kitchen it will go.

(Tune: "Good King Wencelas")

Good King Wencelas looked in
To his good Queen's kitchen.
Saw what drudgery there had been
Spied a little niche in
Which he put a radio,
Smiling, turned the switch, 'N
Now with glee and NBC
You should see her pitch'in.

The announcements to accompany these jingles varied and, as was previously stated, appeared to be interchangeable with the jingles. Although they did not use the exact same slogan each time, the continuing message was clear: buy Mom a radio for Christmas:

> It's true! An independent survey shows that the average housewife spends a full quarter of her working lifetime in the kitchen. And what could bring her more pleasure as she works there than the wonderful listening she could hear from NBC if she had a set of her own? Get Mom a radio for her kitchen for Christmas.
>
> * * *
>
> What's the most useful appliance in the kitchen? A garbage grinder? A dough mixer? An oven timer? No – the most useful . . . the happiest kitchen gift you could give a housewife is a radio – then as she works, she can hear the great programs NBC designs to make her day brighter. Buy Mom a radio for her kitchen for Christmas!
>
> * * *
>
> The scrub-board and the coal stove are things of the dim past, but today's housewife still spends over a quarter of her waking lifetime in the kitchen. But whether it's dishes to be washed or dinner to be done, her work day can be brightened by NBC's lineup of top shows . . . so this year buy your home-maker a radio for her kitchen for Christmas.
>
> * * *
>
> What will you hear in your kitchen after Christmas? Bacon sizzling . . . coffee perking . . . dishes clinking—and, if you're lucky, a new sound—the sound of radio's brightest music, news, drama inspiration . . . NBC radio listening on the new set—the perfect gift to lighten Mother's long hours in the kitchen.
>
> (Kitchen Radio Scripts, 1953)

Each spot not only emphasized the importance of a kitchen radio, they also carefully tied the campaign into NBC itself. Each promo mentioned the network by its call letters (NBC) and expounded on the virtues of NBC programming.

Network IDs

In addition to the promos and jingles run during the kitchen radio campaign, NBC also devised special campaign tie-ins for the network identification cues. Network identification cues are required by the FCC, and are usually announced at least once each hour. For this campaign, the promotions department wrote cues that would continue to extol the benefits of a kitchen radio for mother—and promote NBC:

> Mom needs a kitchen radio for those daytime shows on the NBC radio network.
>
> Make kitchen chores lighter with the music and drama on the NBC radio network.
>
> Fill your kitchen with music . . . keep your kitchen radio tuned to the NBC radio network.
>
> Surprise Mom with a kitchen radio for Christmas . . . she'll keep it tuned to the NBC radio network.
>
> Get Mom a kitchen radio for those daytime shows on the NBC radio network.
>
> (Network Identification Cues, 1953)

These ID cues were to be "used frequently during each day of the Kitchen Radio Campaign" (Network Identification Cues, 1953).

Spots using NBC Talent

The prestige of celebrity endorsement has always been sought after for campaigns and the Kitchen Radio Campaign was no exception. Part of the plan was to use stars from NBC programming to discuss the importance of a kitchen radio. The archive scripts for this phase of the campaign were all marked "sample," giving the impression that the stars would create some spots on their own, based on their famous characters. Nevertheless, these samples give a good indication of what was expected from these spots:

> Hello, this is James Stewart. Most times – that is, Sunday nights when I'm Sheriff Britt on these NBC stations – I wouldn't be able to fight my way into a woman's kitchen even if I wanted to – and I allow I wouldn't. But right now, I'd like to back up this bright idea of getting the little woman a radio for her kitchen – whether it's a chuck wagon or a pulmanette. Just makes sense to make her happy when she's working, I reckon. That's all.
>
> (Sample script, 1953)

Another script featured the husband and wife team of Jim and Marion Jordan, more commonly known as Fibber McGee and Molly:

> Jim: Molly, Molly – turn off the radio. I've just about darn near had darn enough.
>
> Marion: What's the matter, dearie?
>
> Jim: They keep on singing about putting a radio in the kitchen for you.
>
> Marion: I don't see anything to get excited about that, Fibber. It's a real sweet idea to get Mother a radio for the kitchen.
>
> Jim: Of course it is – but I got one for you ten years ago.
>
> Marion: You certainly did, and I'm happy. Now get out of here, and I'll finish the roast.
>
> (Sample script, 1953)

All together, the spots for the NBC Kitchen Radio Campaign ran more than 100 times during the month before Christmas. Airing both day and night, weekdays and weekends, NBC blanketed the airways with the promos. But how successful was the campaign?

Results

NBC was more than pleased with the results. In a memo dated January 27, 1954, Frank Macaulay (Director of Promotion) states "Ted Cott has requested that we continue the Kitchen Radio Jingle campaign which was such a successful feature of our Christmas air promotion program" (Memo, 1954). The next phase of the campaign would emphasize radios for the kids' rooms and for the car.

From the industry perspective, the campaign also seemed successful. Although direct correlation cannot be measured in this case, it is still interesting to note that the 1954 radio set census found that, in multiple-radio TV homes, more than 43% had the radio in the kitchen (up from the 23 % reported in mid-1953) (MacFarland, 1972). Additionally, morning listeners (who primarily reported listening while in the kitchen) were up to 23% (from 15% in 1952); afternoon listening was also up (MacFarland, 1972).

Conclusion

Radio continued to struggle for several years. As television grew, however, radio turned to music more and more (Hall & Hall, 1977), moving into the background as a companion to those listening and doing other things. But because radio had repositioned itself into the kitchen, bedroom, and car, it was ready for the development of the transistor in 1954 (Schiffer, 1991) and the music revolution of 1955: rock & roll. The top 40 format was born, but would not have been as successful had audiences not already embraced radio outside the living-room. Although it can be argued that radio was potentially moving in this direction anyway, the contention of this paper is that the NBC campaign sped up the process, making more people aware of the portability of radio. Part of radio's continued success, therefore, is due to NBC and the Kitchen Radio Campaign.

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History

The Poor Man's Guardian: Radicalism as a Precursor to Marxism

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The Poor Man's Guardian: Radicalism as a Precursor to Marxism

abstract

In this paper, the five year publication of the Poor Man's Guardian, a radical and illegal newspaper of the 1830's, is described. This newspaper developed a unique political perspective that presaged major themes in late 19th century and 20th century Marxist thought. It is argued that the Poor Man's Guardian arose during a period of discursive rupture within British society that allowed the public expression of working class radical thought.

The Poor Man's Guardian: Radicalism as a Precursor to Marxism

The Poor Man's Guardian was a popular radical newspaper published in London from 1831 to 1835. For four years, it rivaled in circulation the two most successful radical working class newspapers of 19th century England: Cobbett's Political Register (1816-1820) and Fergus O'Connor's Northern Star (1837-1845). Cobbett's Political Register sold between 20,000 and 30,000 copies a week, and the Northern Star averaged 25,000 copies a week; the Poor Man's Guardian averaged 12,000 - 15,000 copies weekly but estimates of readership are twenty times these figures (Hollis, 1970, p. 119).

The Poor Man's Guardian was an illegal newspaper because it violated two of the clauses of the Six Acts of 1819. One of the clauses tightened the definition for seditious libel, redefining seditious libel as "pamphlets and printed papers containing observations upon public events and occurrences, tending to excite hatred or contempt of the Government and Constitution of these Realms as by Law established, and also vilifying our holy Religion" (Hollis, 1970, p.165). The second clause tightened the definition of a newspaper such that a newspaper was defined as "any paper which contained public news, intelligence, or occurrences, any comments thereon or on matters of Church and State; and which was printed for sale and published periodically within 26 days, and which was no larger than two sheets and sold for less than six pence exclusive of the duty" (Hollis, 1970, p. 156). Once defined as a newspaper, all publications were required to place a four penny stamp on each copy to abide by the Stamp Act.

The Poor Man's Guardian was published as a weekly newspaper for one penny per copy, but Henry Hetherington, publisher of the Poor Man's Guardian, refused to buy the required stamps, and spent the years 1831-1835 being chased by the British police and prosecuted by the courts. It was illegal to sell the papers, and 815 vendors of the Guardian were imprisoned during this period (Hollis, 1970, p. 171). However, Hetherington and his two editors, Thomas Mayhew and Brontere O'Brien made the Guardian a commercial success, in spite of the difficulty of publishing and selling an illegal press. They also created a radical ideology that innovated from the ideology developed by Cobbett, Carlile, and other early radicals of the period 1810-1830. The Poor Man's Guardian ceased publication in 1835. Hetherington died in the late 1830's. Although Mayhew and O'Brien continued publishing and writing [1], the Poor Man's Guardian's unique radical ideology was never popularly read again in the 19th century.

How did a serious political newspaper like the Poor Man's Guardian become the most popular working class paper of its time? What techniques did it use to establish itself as the leading voice of working class interests? Why did it succeed in developing a truly innovative vision where other radical newspapers failed? In the first part of this paper, the efforts of the Poor Man's Guardian's editors to establish a credible newspaper in spite of serious financial and working limitations is discussed. In the second part of the paper, the Poor Man's Guardian's attempts to win for itself the loyalty of the working class reader by differentiating itself from other competing papers is outlined and, in the third part, its efforts to foster working class consciousness are discussed. Finally, in the last section, the unique political perspective of the Poor Man's Guardian is discussed and positioned within the historical conditions that allowed the full expression of this perspective.

Establishing Credibility as a Newspaper

In 1831, when Hetherington launched the Poor Man's Guardian, there were several newspapers that had already achieved a measure of success, both in terms of circulation and public influence. The Times, with a weekly circulation of 10,000, and the Morning Herald, with a weekly circulation of 7,000, were the leading establishment or "stamped" press. These papers could afford a small staff of reporters and several editors, which allowed them to publish foreign and national news. Working class newspapers could not afford to hire reporters and therefore had to rely on word of mouth for their 'news'. Quite often they copied the news from the establishment press. Most of the news that Hetherington reported that was not of a local nature, such as events occurring in the North of England, in Ireland, or abroad, had to be borrowed from the stamped press. This factor, as well as other cost related factors, such as distribution problems, the cost of equipment and paper, and of course, the cost of the stamps, had kept most working class circulation figures to around 50-500 papers sold per week, although Cobbett's Political Register had been a notable exception at 20,000-30,000 per week in the period 1816-1820. The illegal status of the Poor Man's Guardian made commercial success extremely unlikely and few of the other radical unstamped papers achieved any degree of sustained commercial success.

Two factors contributed to the commercial success of the Poor Man's Guardian: (1) the opposition of establishment forces; and (2) the excitement generated by its ongoing stories. (Henceforth, the abbreviation PMG will be used to refer to the Poor Man's Guardian.) The opposition of establishment forces undoubtedly did much to establish the credibility of the PMG. Arrests of publishers, editors and venders were publicized, and a

Victim Fund was set up by the National Union of the Working Classes. Hetherington hired vendors with the promise that they would be paid one shilling a week for every week that they served in jail (Hollis, 1970, p. 196). Every arrest and every prosecution brought an increase of sales of the PMG.

These arrests and prosecutions were deliberately sought by the PMG as Hetherington declared in writing that his paper was an "illegal" paper. In the first few months of publication, the PMG printed the Six Acts, stated what constituted defiance of the Six Acts, and then informed the reader of the precise manner in which the PMG was defying the law. The title of the PMG called attention to it: "The Poor Man's Guardian. Established, Contrary to "Law" to try the Power of "Might" Against "Right."" If the authorities had any doubts after reading the frontispiece, the paper stressed certain headlines in the body, such as "Intelligences about Matters in Church and State," so that British readers would know that they were reading something illegal. The PMG knew that it would be prosecuted, and recognized that the attention of the authorities could be used to establish its importance and to reach a larger audience. On July 30, 1831, the PMG printed: "Until within this month our writings were not known at Coventry; but-thanks to the gratuitous and flattering advertisements which both the Ministers and "Honourable Members," both in and out of the Houses of the Self-Elected, and also of the "legitimate press" - our Newspapers now circulate there as well as we could wish" (The Poor Man's Guardian, 1831, No. 4, p. 1).

The PMG exploited the negative attention of the authorities to generate sensational long-running stories. Each prosecution was reported in detail by the PMG, with continual updates on the progress of the trial, the condition of the prisoner in jail, etc. Since it was the vendors who were most frequently arrested for selling the paper, the public also met in person many of the people whose 'stories' were written up in the PMG. Hetherington himself was an exciting story. He made long journeys throughout England, recruiting vendors to sell the PMG, and speaking at meetings of the National Union of the Working Classes and other worker associations. He was generally under subpoena, therefore he was often being chased by the police. His journeys were full of narrow escapes, aided by working class supporters. The PMG could report that "Henry H. has made it safely to Leicester," or has been "seen at a meeting in Norwich." When the police finally caught up with him and forced him to appear in court, his lawyers managed to keep court proceedings in progress by appealing. It took many months for the courts to finally imprison him. Hetherington served two jail sentences between 1831 and 1835. His imprisonments added to his public appeal and Hetherington was depicted as a "true" working class hero fighting the cause of "right against might" with his loyal working class supporters: the editor, the vendors, and the readers. The PMG increased its circulation to reach at least a quarter of the working class population of Great Britain and also reached sections of the middle and upper class readership who followed the sensationalized descriptions of the long-running court battles to suppress the newspaper.

In the past, government suppression had closed down most radical presses, but, if one considers the audience of readers that the PMG was targeting in the 1830's, the PMG's strategies make sense. The working classes of England at that time were accustomed to seeing themselves as expendable and/or useless creatures. Millions of working class individuals were suffering from starvation during this period, while the government stood by and did little to alleviate their distress. Thompson (1966) has written that the average life expectancy of the working class person was 26 to 35 years (pp. 314-350). Children and women were cruelly exploited in the burgeoning factories of the Industrial Revolution.

Working class men had to compete against children for their jobs, and were driven in desperation to work long hours for pennies to buy a few food items. Men could be hung or deported to labor camps for petty thievery, even if it was motivated by starvation (p. 338). The sensational status of the PMG brought the PMG's content, often hastily written, to the scrutiny of members of Parliament, representatives of the establishment press, and other middle class readers who would ordinarily have ignored a small, underfunded newspaper. The PMG recognized the importance which the animosity of the establishment conferred on them:

> The Examiner, commenting on the doings in the tax-trap, says our doctrines are dangerous. Admit it. They are dangerous - at least, seeing the horrid state of society, we hope they are: if they are not, they are useless. But then, to who and to what are they dangerous? (The Poor Man's Guardian, 1832, No. 55, p. 1)

A newspaper written, published, and sold by working class men which was important enough to be considered "dangerous" must have contributed a certain amount of pride to its working class readers. It is instructive to note that after arrests of vendors decreased, the circulation of the PMG also decreased. When the PMG became a legal newspaper in early 1835, its circulation dropped to a fraction of what it had been (Hollis, 1970, p. 94).

Identification of the Interests of the Working Class with the PMG

The PMG sought to establish an equivalence between its interests and the interests of its working class readers. In order to establish this equivalence, the PMG had to identify itself as "working class," and differentiate itself from other newspapers. The PMG differentiated itself from the establishment press - the stamped press, but it also sought to differentiate itself from other unstamped press organs that attempted to undercut the

PMG's popularity with its readers. By comparing its point of view with the opinions printed in competing press organs, the PMG developed an identification with its working class readers. The ongoing stories about the prosecutions of PMG publishers, writers, and vendors afforded the PMG an opportunity both to expose the discriminatory nature of the penal codes and to produce reader identification with the PMG defendants on trial.

In his trial, Hetherington declared that he had been arrested, not because his papers were unstamped but because he was a representative of the working class. In his sarcastic, witty and eloquent speaking style, Hetherington built a defense based on his championship of the "poor against the rich" as exemplified in the following editorial:

> 'How is it', said Mr. Mason (PMG lawyer), 'that the Monthly magazines are not required to be stamped, for they contain more "news" every month than my "newsletter?" 'Why,' replied Mr. Timms,' we have consulted the law offices of the crown upon the subject, and they think that as so much "capital" has been embarked in publications of this nature, and they have gone on for such a length of time, they had better not be disturbed'. Here then we see the government can allow the law to be violated with impunity by the rich, while they enforce all its odious provisions against the publications of the poor. . . . "The fact is," said the appellant (Hetherington), "That it is all a hypocritical pretense; it is a gross and malignant attempt - not to destroy the liberty of the press, for the rich can publish what they please, unmolested, but to suppress publications devoted to the true interests of the working class." (Middlesex Sessions, The Poor Man's Guardian, 1831, No. 1, p. 2)

Hetherington is not on trial simply because he cannot afford to put four cent stamps on his weekly newspaper; he is a working class publisher who writes lengthy tracts on political and economic theory to a working class readership who could not read copies of his newspaper if it were stamped. Hetherington's position and by implication, the position of the PMG, is made equivalent to the position of the working class reader, who is similarly harassed by the discriminatory implementation of legal statutes. Thus, the penal events surrounding the PMG's "illegal status" are used to problematize the implementation of the laws regulating newspaper publishing. The arrests and prosecutions, and the constant threat of suppression, catapulted the PMG into celebrity status as a successful and persecuted working class venture.

There were probably hundreds of unstamped and technically illegal papers published during this period, but very few of them were prosecuted unless they were radical papers, such as the PMG and the Republican, among others. If the radical press was perceived to be subject to prosecution because of its identification with working class interests, working class readers might be expected to support these newspapers as their own. By providing the public with background information on current law enforcement policies, the PMG could persuade its readers that the underlying motives for these prosecutions were camouflaged by excessive attention to minor technicalities. Hetherington's lawyer is quoted in the July 9, 1831 issue of the PMG on the unequal enforcement of the Stamp Act during the prosecution of the radical newspaper, The Republican:

> and there was a variety of works, all of which contained "public news or intelligence," and were moreover published regularly and periodically, which it would presently be shewn could not be presumed of The Republican. There was, in law The Legal Observer, in medicine, The Lancet, in divinity, The Pulpit-The Preacher, and many other works of the same character. There were also many weekly publications

> containing matter of a more amusing nature, such as the Mirror and the Olio, etc. and the Tatler (Middlesex Sessions, The Poor Man's Guardian, 1831, No. 1, p. 1).

Having identified its position as well as its interests with that of the workers, the PMG claims the right to define working class positions on a wide range of topics. As already mentioned, the PMG could not afford to hire reporters so it had to borrow reports printed in the stamped press to cover most important news events, such as the crisis in Ireland caused by the potato famine and harsh taxation, the U.S. Presidential election of Andrew Jackson as a populist candidate, American and British attacks against the enslavement of African Americans, and other issues of the 1830's covered by the PMG. Having problematized the class position of the establishment press, the PMG problematizes the ability of the establishment press to cover the news in an effective manner. The PMG borrows the coverage and reporting of the stamped and other establishment press organs but reports these stories with analyses of the upper class perspectives implicit in the writings of the establishment press.

A good example of this technique is the PMG's reporting on the Kilkenny massacre, which was widely covered in the stamped press. Twelve armed policemen were killed trying to collect tithes from the Irish peasantry at Kilkenny, and Parliament ordered British infantry into Ireland to restore law and order. For several months, the PMG reported on the crisis, usually quoting the Times as in the excerpt below:

> "Inhuman butchery BY the multitude," who ever hears of the "inhuman butchery OF the multitude" - that butchery which the Times is urging our Whigs to commence? This must be severely and signally punished (Oh! hang them all up, there are only 2000 of "the mob") or what? "the landlords claim to rent will be the next thing refused" and "every law by which property of any kind is protected will be held in

> universal derision." (Tithes-Dreadful Massacre in the County of Kilkenny, The Poor Man's Guardian, 1831, No. 28, p. 1)

In this essay, the PMG writers reject the claim by the Times that the murder of twelve policeman was an example of "inhuman butchery" by the peasantry, adopting instead a compassionate tone that, although some Irish peasants did commit murder, poverty and starvation contributed to these acts of violence. The PMG writers strenuously object to the massive punishment carried out by the British Parliament against a large number of uninvolved Irish civilians. Finally, the PMG points to a class bias in Parliament's actions by commenting that the rents have to be paid on time, otherwise the "laws of property" will be undermined.

By analyzing the writings in the respectable press, the PMG undermines the credibility of the stamped press and other middle class press organs, like the conservative morality paper, the Saturday Magazine, to represent the news in an unbiased fashion. The middle class press cannot be counted on to address working class readers because it is not in their interests to address issues of importance for the working class:

> The daily papers, it appears, have no room to spare for recording the proceedings of working men in pursuit of objects highly interesting to humanity. The Times can devote seven columns in one day to the case of Miss Bagster, a day-school lunatic, but not a line to record the proceedings of a meeting having for its object the abolition of the brutal practice of flogging in the army and navy. (Naval and Military Flogging, The Poor Man's Guardian, 1832, No. 44, pp. 1-2)

One can view this process of differentiating itself from other newspapers from the perspective of Foucault's "dividing practices" (Rabinow, 1984). The object of a dividing practice is to separate those who belong from those who do not. Although the middle class and upper class do have some interests in common, according to the PMG, the working class does not have a common interest with the middle class. Developing this argument further, the PMG argues that all middle class institutions, such as the church, the courts and the press, ought to be regarded as associated with, in this case, the outgroup. The PMG explicitly views the stamped press as an enemy of the working class, as in the following remark by a PMG writer: "Well, my object is, as I have said, to conclude by cautioning you against the seductive language and barefaced villainy of the fourth estate, that is, the stamped newspaper press" (A Last Warning on the Accursed Reform Bill, The Poor Man's Guardian, 1832, No. 44, p. 1).

The PMG's Attempt to Foster Working Class Consciousness

From 1831 to 1835, PMG writers attempted to educate their working class readers to a realization of the position of the working class within a capitalist state. Their aim was to enlighten the mass of the workers to the workings of the system, so that the workers, "armed with knowledge," could exert their force via non-violent political action to modify the system. Their hope was that by obtaining suffrage, the working class constituency could legislate social and economic reforms that would bring about a democratization of the forms of economic relations. They strove to find a way whereby a modified "free-trade" economy could exist in a democratic political system.

According to the PMG, one of the most important threats to working class consciousness was a tendency to believe that the working class and the middle class had common interests and should work together for reform. The PMG believed that the interests of the middle class, including the lower middle class, later termed by Marxist writers the "petit bourgeoisie," were antithetical to the interests of the working class. The following editorial discusses the PMG's position regarding the petit bourgeoisie (or lower middle class):

> ...and, believe us, there is not a "middle man" among them who would not, if he could, become a Sir Robert (Peel) - and by the same means - viz: tricking hundreds and thousands of you out of your hard-earned pence, and which can only be done by a continuance of the present system. We have argued thus far to prove that you have nothing to expect from the 10 pound householders, the "little property" men - the "petty masters," or "middlemen" . . . trust them not; nor should you trust even yourselves, if partially favored . . . we might, perhaps, none of us, be able to resist the temptation of bettering our individual condition at the general expense (The Poor Man's Guardian, 1831, No. 4, p. 1).

Because it was not in the interests of middle class aspirants to alter conditions for the average worker, any reform that benefited the middle classes did not benefit the workers. The Reform Bill of 1832 extended the franchise to men who owned property worth 10 pounds. It was heralded by middle class reformers as a great step forward, and was regarded as bringing about democracy in a "step-by-step" fashion. The next step would be to grant the working class the franchise as soon as the country was ready. The PMG did not believe that the Reform Bill would help the working class, and believed that implementation of the Reform Bill would actually hurt the working class because it would solidify and entrench the capitalist economy. In issue after issue, the PMG attacked the Reform Bill, and the "Reformed Parliament," which was, from their perspective, much worse than the now defunct aristocratic oligarchy. This position was stated by O'Brien in an editorial dated August 17, 1833:

> Don't believe those who tell you that the middle and working classes have one and the same interest. It is a damnable delusion. . . . It is in the interest of the operative to work as short time and to get as much for it as possible. The middleman's interest consists, on the contrary, in getting the greatest possible quantity of work out of the operative, and giving him as little as possible for it. Here then, have we their respective interests as directly opposed to each other as two fighting bulls. But, to make the thing still plainer. The workman lives by selling his labour - the middleman by buying it cheap, and selling it dear to the aristocracy: or, in other words, by the employment of of his capital. Now the cheaper he buys things (labour among the rest) and the dearer he sells them, the better for himself. But he cannot cheapen labor without degrading the laborer, nor can he sell dear to the aristocrat, unless the aristocrat have plenty of money and be extravagant into the bargain. Here we find it is in his interest to degrade the laborer, and to encourage the profligate expenditure of the aristocrat (On the Reform We Have Had, and The Reform We Want to Have, The Poor Man's Guardian, 1833, No. 115, p. 1).

This editorial states the conflict of interests between the middle classes and the working classes in an innovative manner. The doctrine of liberty and individualism has been a preferred discourse since the early 1800's. Adam Smith's economic theory posited free trade, which was interpreted as limited government interference in the economy. Thomas Paine's libertarian political theory posited social liberty for individuals, which meant that the government should not interfere in the affairs of individuals. Followers of Smith and Paine advocated a weak government which performed as few functions as possible. It was assumed that individuals, if not interfered with, would rule themselves democratically; the economy would function according to the laws of supply and demand if the government did not intervene, setting prices and administering goods. What the PMG does is reposition prevailing discourses of social and economic liberties within a social system where individuals behave according to enlightened self-interest in terms of their understanding of "self-interest." The PMG posits that individuals will conceive of their "interest" in terms of their experiences and position within society. Following this new conception of self-interest, the experiences of individuals within different classes predisposes them to conceptualize their self-interest in different terms and according to different value systems. This conception of "positioned self-interest" departs from the conceptualizations of earlier radical thinkers. For example, Cobbett accuses specific individuals of idleness and immorality, but absolves the aristocracy of collective blame. Carlile castigates priests and lords for their individual wickedness but does not hold the Church of England responsible for inculcating acquisitive values among the clergy and for ignoring immoral actions. In contrast, the PMG is less inclined to attack individuals than social groups and social institutions when laying blame for social wrong. The PMG's political perspective views individuals as having limited power in the society as a whole, and if change is to occur, it will only occur as the result of broad sweeping changes which affect the majority of members within a group, rather than from small incremental changes that only affect a few individuals here and there.

A Precursor of Marxism in a Period of Discursive Rupture

The struggle that the PMG was waging was a many-faceted one. On the one hand the PMG was fighting with other radicals who saw socialistic Owenism as the solution. These radicals believed that socio-economic equality could be obtained by economic change which bypassed the political or democratic route. If thousands and thousands of working class persons formed cooperatives, they could provide for themselves and eventually influence the middle and upper classes to join in. The PMG perceived this solution as idealistic and foolish, and did not believe that a truly communal system, like Owenism, could succeed because, as they put it, "as we cannot get men to co-operate and live in common, the next best thing is - to enable them to acquire property fairly and use it in the same way. As society works now, few acquire property fairly, it is almost all got by fraud, or force, or an admixture of both. We answer, as we did before, by establishing the democratic principle in every department of society" (The Present Unjust Distribution of Property Caused by the Monarchic Principles in Society, The Poor Man's Guardian, 1834, No. 175, p. 1). At the time, a majority of working class people were attracted to Owenism because of its ethical and millennial appeal.

Another more dangerous threat was from the activity of middle class reformers who were attempting to gain political power and who exhorted the working class to join their struggle. Many working class people felt that a reform which allowed the small property owner the right to vote was a step towards democracy. Chartism was to see a merging of the middle and lower class reform movements, although many working class leaders, such as Fergus O'Connor, split with the Chartist movement on this issue. Chartism was a blend of middle class reform ideas, i.e., Parliamentary reform and popular suffrage, with working class Owenism. The preferred middle class ideologies were not problematized in O'Connor's Northern Star as they were in the PMG.

Why was the PMG capable of writing about the contradictions within middle class ideology when earlier and later radicals were unable to? One can hypothesize that circumstances in the early 1830's were such that the dominance of capitalism as a middle class ethic was not firmly established enough to elicit a popular consensus. Many sections of the population, for instance, the High Tories, the Established Church, and some Whig reformers, were disturbed and uncertain about the events taking place in the nation. These events were not perceived in a unified fashion, but were viewed from various conflicting points of view. These conflicts caused a breach in public confidence which allowed working class reformers to rethink the whole system. It is this lack of public consensus which allowed Hetherington and O'Brien to pursue their critiques in an illegal newspaper until the Chartist movement established a new coalition of consensus. This breach in consensus provided a climate in which contradictions in the system could not be hidden within the terms of universal symbols about the meaning and value of the Industrial Revolution and the Capitalistic economic system that was being created.

One can view this period as a discursive rupture - a point in time when the hitherto prevailing discourses had become so problematized that it was possible for creative radical thinkers to see through hitherto taken-for-granted assumptions. Prior to this period, radical discourse had been articulated in the same terms that establishment discourse had used. Burke and the Tories had preached "church and state"; the middle class had preached free trade and "freedom from taxation without representation". Remaining within the terms of establishment discourse, radical thinkers attacked aristocratic privilege and the corruption of church and state because early radical thinkers had not developed a concept of the economic system that challenged the prevailing ideologies of middle class economists. Free trade was not attacked; it was advocated as a kind of exercise in flag-waving in spite of the egregious inequalities in its uncontrolled (thus free) implementation. In early radical theories, the capitalist was viewed as a member of the "producing classes" and, since a major theme of early radicalism was the 'productiveness' of the working class, capitalists and manufacturers could not be attacked without undermining this theme. In contrast, the aristocracy and the established clergy were viewed as parasites, the "unproductive classes," as they did not produce anything but lived off the fruits of other people's labor (see Carlile, 1822-1826, Cobbett, 1926). Paternalism was also advocated along the lines of Tory thinking, although in essence antithetical to democratic principles. Even in the period when Hetherington and O'Brien were writing, many of the other radical unstamped (and, therefore, illegal) newspapers were continuing these same proto-radical discourses. Hetherington, O'Brien, and Mayhew perceived an inherent conflict between democracy and capitalism. From their perspective, a democratic political system founded on principles of individual liberty and equality contradicted a capitalist economic system based on economic inequality. The capitalist mode of life predisposed individuals to conceive of the world in a way often articulated by PMG writers, as in the following excerpt:

> "Property" - the means of individual aggrandisement at the general expense - the cause of wealth to the few which is the cause of poverty to the many - the cause of pride, which is the cause of wealth and power, which are the cause of envy - and pride and envy are together the cause of evil and contention, and bloodshed, and ill-feeling, and misery, and starvation! (A Letter from a Poor Man, The Poor Man's Guardian, No. 4, 1831, p. 1)

It is with the publication of the PMG that one first sees these dominant discourses deconstructed, and a substantial effort is taken to create a radical alternative to reconstruct a failing economic and social system. PMG radicals were not simply trying to correct the abuses in the system as earlier radicalism had attempted. Instead, PMG writers tried to undermine the assumptions that buttressed that socioeconomic system. With their determined position regarding class interest, they had stopped looking back to a golden age, a Burkian age of the "social body" or "body of the state" (Burke, 1955), where all members of society were indelibly linked to their rulers through bonds of fealty. The PMG had constructed a new theoretical perspective that accounted for the subjectivity of individuals within the social system. The PMG writers conceived of societal structure as an interlocking system of semi-autonomous or interdependent social institutions, presaging later constructions of Marxist economic and political thought. The economic structure is not viewed as independent of the political system; in other words, there are no "autonomous" social institutions. All social institutions are interrelated in the system of power which rules the country. Universities are "nothing but combinations, not combinations to protect industry, but to degrade it" (Great Meeting on Islington Green On Behalf of the Operative Builders, Poor Man's Guardian, 1834, No. 169, p. 1). Religious institutions exhort the poor man to "behave well in his place". The capitalist has no interest in supporting institutions that are favorable to the laborer, and will, moreover, contrive to make the laborer think that capitalist institutions are necessary to the laborer's welfare. This perspective is illustrated in the following excerpt:

> He will take good care that the laborer shall not exist except upon his terms. He will support no institutions that have not this in view. He will do more - he will contrive that the institutions of the country shall be such, that while they actually brutalize and devour the laborer, they will, notwithstanding, appear necessary to his existence. . . . They will make him believe he is an object of charity, while in reality he supports his oppressors. Under the pretense of "giving him employment," they will make him grateful for being allowed to sweat all day and shiver all might, and to cap the climax of super-refined atrocity, they will preach to him about the "blessed comforts of

> religion," while all the time they are blotting out of him the image of God and making him an unspiritualized beast. (The Poor Man's Guardian, 1833, No. 90, p. 1).

The last line of this excerpt could function as an argument for Marx's oft-quoted characterization of religion as the opiate of the masses. Establishment religious rhetoric and practice is often the target of the PMG writers, who regard this type of religious rhetoric as unusually vicious. In the following excerpt, the PMG uses empirical evidence to argue against identification with middle class morality:

> The evidence of decrepit limbs, loss of appetite, incessant head-ache, stilted growth, and a sore back, occasionally rising in wheals and tumours - would soon convince him (the rich man) that many of those evils which he now innocently believes to be of "God's appointment" are not of so divine and remote an origin as he supposed. In short, he would discover that the devil and men had more to do with our "trials" than a God of Mercy, upon whom he blasphemously saddles them; and, as a natural consequence, he would soon not only form new ideas about "behaving well in his own place," but would also learn to inquire into the behavior of his master and the overlooker, aye, and of the government too, in their places. (The Subject of "Property" Investigated – Relative Rights of Rich and Poor – Exposure of Canting Hypocrites—Saturday Magazine, Etc., The Poor Man's Guardian, 1832, No. 87, p.1)

In this article, the PMG writers argue that the familiar religious homily to accept one's lot in life and to quietly endure one's trials is a class-motivated reading of scripture, acceptance of which benefits economically privileged members of society. The PMG writers skillfully reverse the question and ask their readers to imagine the rich man suddenly grown so poor that he begins to suffer from the same material misfortunes that the poor are currently experiencing.

These editorials anticipate later Marxist conceptions of the dominance of the ruling class in constructing ideologies which are disseminated by the superstructure to the working class mass which supports the economic base. In later Marxist thought, the lower classes are considered to be inculcated in ideologies that create traditions of loyalty, obedience, and acceptance of the status quo through the institutions of the superstructure - the educational system, the government, religious institutions, and the mass media. These PMG editorials, and others similar in theme provide illustrations of the notion of the construction of "false consciousness" by the ruling classes, a conception to await scholarly development later in the 19th century by Marx (1859, 1867), Marx & Engels (1963), and Engels (1892), and in the 20th century by Lenin (1929), Gramsci (1929-1935) and Althusser (1971). "False consciousness" is the collection of beliefs, attitudes and values held by the lower classes which predispose them towards a positive view of society and of the ruling elite in particular. It is considered a "false" consciousness by Marxist writers because it is often associated with inaccurate fact, biased history, and blind acceptance of establishment rhetoric. According to notions of false consciousness, the lower classes are "blind" to the societal mechanisms which have produced obvious social inequalities and frequently attribute their misfortunes to individual fault. False consciousness, according to the PMG, are the techniques whereby the ruling class will "appear necessary to his [the poor man's] existence;" "they [the ruling class] will make him feel grateful" for the small reward for his labor and will encourage the poor to "behave well in their places" as their misfortunes are "of God's appointment."

The PMG's conception of a social revolution hinges on a recognition that the interests of the workers are related to their position in the social system, a conception later termed "praxis" in Marxist literature. The workers should control their wages, their educational system, their press, their literature and their leisure time. The method which the PMG believes will enable the workers to gain control over their fortunes is political power. The workers must have a powerful voice in the government. Political power through legislation will enable the workers to oversee the laws by which the country is governed. As discussed in the previous section, it is the PMG's position that middle class leaders rearticulate positions held by the ruling class, as they aspire to become members of the ruling class. Thus, the leadership of well-intentioned middle classes reformers should be rejected by the working class because "all oppressed of every kind should look with distrust upon the measures of change which originate with their oppressors, and if the work of reform is to be done well for them, they must do it themselves" (The Poor Man's Guardian, 1834, No. 176, p. 1). This focus on working class power presages Lenin's critique of the "bourgeois elite" which was used to justify a rejection of the Karensky compromise government which represented both the Russian middle class and the "petit bourgeoisie" in 1919 (Lenin, trans. 1929).

The PMG advocates democratizing every institution within the country along democratic principles often articulated by establishment leaders but infrequently implemented. Essentially, the PMG writers feel that the political ideology of monarchy permeates every institution in 19th century Britain, preventing the construction of a viable democratic society. This theory of ideological domination, later developed by Marx and more currently expounded by Althusser's (1970) notion of "ideological state apparatuses" is discussed by the PMG as the dominance of monarchist ideology in society: "At present, the monarchic principle governs throughout society. We find it in every industrial department; we find it in the factory, in the workshop, in the farm, in every branch and every walk of life.. ." (The Present Unjust distribution of Property Caused by the

Monarchic Principles in Society, The Poor Man's Guardian, 1834, No. 175, p. 1) The "monarchic" ideology of the ruling aristocracy must be replaced with a "democratic" ideology in all major institutions of the country. Working class consciousness is the most democratic consciousness, as yet unspoiled by participation in uncontrolled capitalist expansion by members of the upper and middle classes. Working class members should work towards gaining power over their own lives by political power in the legislature, and vote for an implementation of control mechanisms over capitalist practice.

The discursive rupture which allowed the creation of the PMG and a flowering of creative radical thought ended soon after the Stamp Duties were lowered in 1836. A parallel can be seen in early American radicalism which also died at roughly the same time, killed by the Panic of 1837 (Shiller, 1983). The new stamped radical press did not continue these lines of investigation, as it became progressively commercialized (Curran, 1977). Chartism reverted, for the most part, to an earlier and by now, outdated and ineffective radical approach as Fergus O'Connor's Northern Star, which was the most popular of the Chartist newspapers, promulgated the old ideology of Cobbett and Carlile, albeit somewhat modernized. After the death of Chartism, no radical working class paper ever achieved a popular success (Curran, 1977). Thus, the Poor Man's Guardian is a unique publication. It published a powerful critique of the rising ideology of bourgeois capitalism, and constructed a tentative alternative to both capitalism and socialism. It was also instrumental in bringing an end to the Stamp Tax.

Conclusion

In this paper, the five year period of publication of the Poor Man's Guardian, a radical and illegal British newspaper of the 1830's is described. Excerpts from the newspaper are used to illustrate four points: (1) the Poor Man's Guardian's general strategy of establishing reader identification with its chosen audience; (2) the strategies by which it differentiated itself from the establishment press and other competing unstamped newspapers; (3) its attempts to foster "working class" consciousness in its readership; and (4) its development of a unique political perspective that presaged many of the major themes in later 19th century and 20th century Marxist thought.

It is argued that the Poor Man's Guardian arose during a period of discursive rupture within established discourses. This was a period of time when the consensus within established discourses fell apart and conventional rhetoric no longer satisfied many segments of the British population, in particular, the lower classes of Great Britain, whose concrete experiences made problematic previously accepted economic and political truths. This discursive rupture enabled a flowering of radical political genius among working class writers not seen again for the duration of the 19th century.

Notes

1) Thomas Mayhew published several manuscripts for the British Government in the 1870's and 1880's on conditions of the poor in Great Britain, whereas Bronterre O'Brien became the publisher and editor of the Northern Star, the most widely read newspaper of the Chartist movement.

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History

Magazine Coverage of Katharine Meyer Graham, 1963-1975

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Magazine Coverage of Katharine Meyer Graham, 1963-1975

Abstract:

From her husband's death in 1963 through Watergate, the Pentagon Papers and a pressmen strike in 1975, Katharine Graham rose to success as the head of the Washington Post Company. The blossoming feminist movement coincided with Graham's rise to power and American magazines molded her into a figurehead for the women's liberation movement. Initially receiving coverage based on her gender, Graham eventually earned magazine attention for her successful management.

She was not the first female leader in the media, but history made her the most famous. She was not a passionate feminist, but American magazines made her a women's liberation role model. In 1963, Katharine Meyer Graham, a self-conscious widow and mother of four, landed unexpectedly in the role of president of the Washington Post empire. She made her hesitant debut as a female leader in a male-dominated profession amidst new legislation on equal opportunities for women, a burgeoning feminine movement and the explosive growth in magazine coverage of the new American woman. Though American magazines gave little notice to Graham's appearance on the professional scene, they were proclaiming her the most powerful woman in America by the mid 1970s and even today she remains probably the most recognized woman in the history of American newspapers, if not all of the American media.[1]

American magazines, especially those targeting women, captured Graham's transformation from doting housewife to female media mogul, molding her into a figurehead for the women's rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Despite true personal and professional growth and excellent management, Graham's initial success as president and later publisher of the Washington Post Company depended largely on her supporting staff and the hand of events that history dealt to her.[2] This success, regardless of how she acquired or maintained it, provided the blossoming magazine industry with a face for coverage of the women's liberation movement.[3] Though Graham held little interest in fighting for women's rights, she eventually recognized the power her position held for supporting equality and inspiring confidence in women.[4] From Phil Graham's death in 1963 through the three famous capers in the Washington Post Company's history, magazine coverage of Graham initially sought to illustrate the changing role of women, but she eventually earned coverage based on her performance and not her gender.

This study examined magazine coverage of Graham, and the possible impact of the feminine revolution on this coverage, from her inheritance of voting control of the Washington Post Company in 1963 to 1975, which was the year of the last incident of what she described as "the three really cosmic events that happened and in public."[5] These three events were the publication of a series of articles on the Pentagon Papers by *The Washington Post* starting on June 18, 1971, reporting on President Richard Nixon's Watergate scandal by *Post* reporters Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward also in 1971, and the pressmen's strike at the *Post* in September 1975. That year, Graham had reached a professional peak, with a 1975 article in *Dun's* saying "she has been called the most powerful woman in America so many times that a visitor to the Post's smartly decorated eighth-floor executive suite half expects to see that title flashing in neon above her door."[6]

The study analyzed magazine coverage because in the 1960s and 1970s, the magazine industry began to target niche audiences, such as women, and because increased reporter freedom and the use of new journalism techniques made it the most popular media for controversial issues such as equal rights for women.[7] To maintain consistency in the circulation of magazines studied and provide quantitative accuracy, the study selected magazine articles listed in the *Readers Guide to Periodical Literature* under the headings of Katharine Graham and The Washington Post Company from 1963 to 1975.[8] All listed articles were read to provide sufficient background on the level of magazine attention that Graham received, but the study included only articles that specifically featured her.

Articles focused specifically on the Washington Post Company, though they may have mentioned or quoted Graham, were excluded from this study.

Ten magazines featured Graham in a total of twelve articles between 1963 and 1975. Other than brief mentions in her husband's obituaries in *Time, Newsweek* and *Art News*, Graham's only magazine coverage prior to 1967 was a short article on her ascension to president of the Washington Post Company in her own *Newsweek* in September 1963. In 1967 she was prominently featured in *Business Week* and *Vogue*. She appeared sporadically throughout the next several years, with one article in 1968, one in 1971 and one in 1973. Three articles featured Graham in 1974, followed by an additional three articles in 1975. Of Graham's twelve feature articles, five appeared in magazines with female target audiences and seven appeared in business or news magazines. The gender of the articles' authors was not analyzed because seven of the twelve articles contained no byline. Of the remaining five authors, three were women and two were men, which suggested that trends in magazine portrayal of Graham were not tied to the gender of the writers.

The number of articles did not accurately represent actual coverage of Graham by women's or general audience magazines due to the varying length of articles. Though only five of the twelve articles appeared in women's magazines, these articles ranged from three to nine pages, with four of the articles including prominent photographs. Six of the seven business and news magazine articles were three pages or less and the seventh was five pages. Therefore, Graham received more pages of coverage in women's magazines despite the lower number of articles. Graham's appearance in news and business magazines may have been affected by the need to cover the impact of events such as the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the war in Vietnam and the resignation of President Richard Nixon, all of which occurred within the time frame of this study.

The lone gunshot of Philip Graham's suicide in 1963 signaled the start of Graham's life journey, a personal and professional voyage that would eventually earn her the title of "The Most Powerful Woman in America."[9] With her husband's death, Katharine inherited control of the Washington Post Company, an empire built by the sweat and passion of the Meyer family after Eugene Meyer, Katharine's father, purchased it in 1933. At the time of Philip's death, the company included *The Washington Post, Newsweek,* two art magazines, several television stations and a news service.[10] Katharine's inheritance of 50.1 percent of the voting shares of the Washington Post Company, and her subsequent election as the company's president by the board of directors in September 1963, resulted in her first magazine appearance. In its September 30 edition, *Newsweek* included a short article on the table of contents page and a small headshot photograph of Graham. The article quoted her reemphasis of the three foundational principles created by her father for *The Washington Post* in 1935: a devotion to the public and not to the interests of the owner, the choice of truth above financial gain and the refusal to create affiliations with special interest groups.[11] Graham's election as president of the company went unnoticed by all magazines except *Newsweek,* which was owned by her company. Even *Newsweek* did not deem it worthy of a complete article but covered it more as a brief on changes within the magazine.

The lack of coverage by *Newsweek* and other major magazines probably resulted from the fact that Graham was not the first female owner or manager of a major newspaper and showed little possibility of breaking new ground in this arena. Helen Rogers Reid and her husband had founded the *New York Herald-Tribune* in 1924, which she and her two sons controlled after her husband's death; Dorothy "Buffy" Buffum Chandler and her son had assumed joint control of the *Los Angeles Times* in 1960; Dorothy "Dolly" Schiff had been publisher of the *New York Post* since 1943 and would continue until 1976; and Alicia Patterson was finishing a twenty-three year tenure as editor and publisher of Long Island's *Newsday*. Graham was not even unique as the female head of a Washington newspaper, with Eleanor "Cissy" Medill Patterson serving as editor and publisher of the Washington *Herald*, the *Post*'s longtime rival, until her death in 1948. Also, Graham did not initially imply that she meant to take an active role in the company's leadership, and instead spoke about simply maintaining the family business until her son Donald could take over. At her first meeting with the board of directors in August 1963, she said, "This is a family business and will remain so. After all, there is a new generation coming along."[12] She said she never imagined herself taking over the *Post* but just went to work.[13]

Peripheral coverage of Graham in the 1963 magazine obituaries for her husband in *Time*, *Newsweek* and *Art News* also failed to suggest that she could, or wanted to, take an active role in the company. Though the obituaries were not considered feature coverage of Katharine, they provided the initial foundation on which future articles would build. *Time*'s only reference to Katharine was to comment that Philip's voting stock "will probably revert to Kay, his widow,"[14] while *Art News,* owned by the Washington Post Company, gave a short description of Graham and her family's longstanding support of the arts. Concentrated on the death of media and government sweetheart Philip Graham, these articles paid little attention to Katharine and her inheritance of the company, which would be the norm for the next several years. *Newsweek,* also owned by the Post Company, focused more attention on Katharine, citing her assurance that the company would not be split up or sold and dedicating a column to her background in the newspaper industry. It pointed out that she had grown up immersed in the field, working with her father who was then the owner of *The Washington Post,* and mentioned her college education and experience writing for the *San Francisco News* and *The Washington Post.* The increased credibility Graham gained from this background was then undermined by the magazine's only quote from her on her previous experience. She said of her time at the *News,* "I was the youngest and silliest girl on the paper. . . . But the photographers were kind and got me through."[15] The foundational coverage of Graham as unimportant to the company and inexperienced failed to reflect her personality or past, which was described in her 1997 Pulitzer Prize-winning autobiography, *Personal History.* According to Graham, she developed a significant interest in current events and the government, labor issues in particular, during her time at the University of Chicago. She corresponded often with her father about the progress of *The Washington Post* and spent a year in reporting in San Francisco before returning at her father's request to work for the *Post.* At the *Post,* she worked in the editorial department because she said she "felt it unwise to try to be a reporter back in Washington, since it would be awkward being the publisher's daughter."[16] Other than *Newsweek*'s understated mention of her previous journalism experience, magazine coverage of Graham at her husband's death portrayed her as a widow with an inheritance beyond her abilities.

This portrayal of Graham overlooked the intelligence she gained through both higher education and a family affluent enough to expose her to politics, art and recreation. Once she began having children, Graham chose to run her household and leave the public spotlight to her husband. She did not lack ability but felt inadequate to reach the professional success required by her high profile family and demanding mother, or what Graham coined "Meyerdom."[17] Her marriage to the Philip Graham allowed her the respectable position of wife, mother and high-society hostess. With little ambition to return to the professional world, she was content to manage every aspect of her family's life while her husband was busy building the family empire. She said:

> I adored our life. I liked being what I called the chief operating officer. I did everything at home. I kept the houses running; I took care of the children. I made the decisions about summers. I bought and sold houses and moved. I did everything that most families share because he [Phil] was working so hard, and I was trying to take the pressure off by doing everything at home. I was interested in our life; I was interested in meeting the people we met. I adored the family.[18]

Graham's role was a choice, and a respectable one in 1963 society, not the result of a lack of intellect or work ethic. Initially, magazines underestimated Graham by categorizing her as a housewife with little professional ability or aspiration.

Finding her husband, publisher of *The Washington Post* empire and a political powerhouse, lying dead on the bathroom floor placed Katharine in a pivotal position at a critical time in American history. Philip had just added *Newsweek* magazine to his impressive empire in 1961, and the *Washington Post* had experienced a higher volume of advertising than its rival *Washington Star* for the first time in the quarter before Philip's suicide. At the same time, women had begun to question the content housewife image projected by the mass media and to seek professional and social equality. In her 1963 book, *The Feminine Mystique,* Betty Frieden described the myth of the fulfilled housewife perpetuated by the mass media and society of the early 1960s:

> With a vision of a happy modern housewife as she is described by the magazines and television, by the functional sociologists, the sex directed educators, and the manipulators dancing before my eyes, I went in search of one of those mystical creatures. Like Diogenes with his lamp, I went as a reporter from suburb to suburb, searching for a woman of ability and education who was fulfilled as a housewife.[19]

The Feminine Mystique was one of many books and magazines that had begun to question the role of women in society.[20] Thus, Philip Graham's death offered Katharine a professional rebirth that coincided with the blossoming of the feminist movement in the United States.

When Graham succeeded her husband as president of the Washington Post Company in 1963, the United States was on the cusp of social change in the area of civil rights for women. In 1961, President John F. Kennedy appointed a commission on the Status of Women to explore the issue, and in 1964 Title VII of the Civil Rights Acts prohibited sex discrimination in employment.[21] In a 1963 *Saturday Review* article on the "Change and Challenge For the Educated Woman," author Pauline Tompkins stated, "Within the last two years there has been a steady outpouring of books and articles on women and their role. . . . *Esquire, The Saturday Evening Post, McCall's, Redbook, Harper's Monthly, The New York Times Magazine Section* are suggestive of the popular periodicals which have addressed themselves to the subject."[22] Though the changing role of women was being recognized, it was far from being widely accepted. At a San Francisco University symposium on women in 1963, author Morton M. Hunt said, "the new roles with which she [woman] has been experimenting have been sadly disconcerting to men, who have always been ready to raise the cry that women are 'losing their femininity.'"[23]

Graham experienced this resistance from the men in her company as she entered the scene and quickly discarded her role as a figurehead for a more active leadership position. Many of the men disliked taking orders from a woman, saying "What she needs is a good f---."[24] Though Graham held tightly to a deeply imbedded feeling that men were better suited to leadership positions, she began to gain confidence in her ability to be an effective manager. In her book on Graham's life, Carol Felsenthal said, "Some would say that Kay Graham never really changed her opinion of the capabilities of women. But little by little, this woman who believed in the innate superiority of men, who believed, at some level, that women who were aggressive and dominant would turn into monsters like her mother, began to catch on."[25] As Graham began to embrace the power of her position, her confidence and her company grew, as did her media exposure.

Between 1964 and 1975, Graham was featured in eleven articles in ten national magazines: *Vogue, Dun's, Ms., Business Week, McCall's, The New Yorker, Time, Forbes, Newsweek* and *Harper's Monthly.* After *Newsweek's* brief mention of her election as the company's president, Graham did not receive magazine coverage again until 1967, despite her company's growing power and her influential acquaintances.

In 1967, she received a feature article and photograph in *Vogue* and graced the cover of *Business Week,* with a five-page story and additional photos appearing inside. A probable cause for the sudden magazine attention was the high-society ball that Truman Capote, author of *In Cold Blood* and a close personal friend of Graham, threw in her honor in November 1966.[26] In a 1970 book on the importance of Washington newswomen, female authors Winzola McLendon and Scottie Smith said, "The famous Truman Capote *bal masqué* in her honor at the Plaza Hotel in New York a few years after her husband's death symbolized her transformation inwardly and outwardly: Cinderella may not have found another prince, but she had certainly found the glass slipper."[27] Graham was finding her professional footing, and the party gave magazines a reason to notice. The May 27, 1967, *Business Week* cover story began with this paragraph:

> When Truman Capote decided to give a party in New York last November, some 540 politicians, diplomats, scientists, and artists packed the Plaza for the season's most spectacular social event. The author of *In Cold Blood* coolly described the affair as his 'little masked ball for Kay Graham and all my friends.'

Business Week featured Graham on the cover as an angle on two bigger issues—the recent growth and success of the Washington Post Company and the changing role of women. The increasing popularity of television and financial problems were affecting newspapers across the country, but *The Washington Post* had risen to the number one newspaper in Washington, hitting the highest gross sale in its history in 1966.[28] The role of women also had continued to change with President Johnson's promotion of women in the workplace and the formation of The National Organization for Women in 1966.[29] This combination of factors made Graham a perfect opportunity for *Business Week* to combine the feminine revolution and an important corporate explosion in one illustrative feature.

The product of a society undergoing change, the article praised Graham's determination to keep her family's company, her increasing business knowledge and her prestigious friends, but it failed to completely discard the depiction of her as a traditional 1950s woman. It stated, "Mrs. Graham takes an interest that seems compounded of equal parts of housemother and cheerleader: she is benevolent, critical, prodding, relentlessly enthusiastic, and encourages what *Newsweek* Editor Osborn Elliott calls an 'atmosphere of freedom' in which 'good ideas will always get a hearing.'"[30] This phrase downplayed the importance of Graham's management, recognizing her more for looking after and encouraging her staff than for building the company professionally. The article did credit her with "exerting her heads-up editorial interest, particularly in picking topflight personnel," and with "the promotion of individual reporters and writers, who get a generous allotment of bylines."[31] But it failed to specifically mention Graham's decision to hire Benjamin Bradlee as deputy managing editor in June 1965, which became one of the most influential decisions in the *Post*'s history. By November 1965, she had replaced long-time friend and managing editor Alfred Friendly with Bradlee, and the newspaper was experiencing unprecedented success under his direction. The *Business Week* article devoted only one paragraph to Graham's previous journalism experience, saying that she "worked briefly as a Post reporter in 1939-40, but has done no reporting since."[32] It failed to mention her year of reporting in San Francisco or the fact that she continued writing for the *Post* even after the birth of her first child.

Despite its omissions, this article was the only major business or news magazine feature of Graham before 1974, putting it near the forefront of national coverage on women in the workforce. In a 1963 *Time* magazine article, writer Marya Mannes commented on the mass media's typical depiction of acceptable femininity: "Be thin, be smart, be gay, be sexy, be soft-spoken; Get new slip covers, learn new recipes, have bright children, further your man's career, help the community, drive the car, smile."[33] Though not the only magazine to cover the change in women's roles, *Business Week* helped to challenge traditional ideas with the positive portrayal of a woman in business and began paving the way for a new representation of Graham, and of American women, both personally and professionally.

Vogue also used Graham in 1967 to illustrate the larger issue of the changing role of women and their debut on the professional scene. An article in its January edition, written by Graham's friend Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., described her recent "emergence as a personality in Washington, New York and London" and began to positively depict her as an influential American female. The cut line for Graham's full-page photo described her as, "Attractive, gentle without yielding, soft without mental flab, knowledgeable without aggressiveness, a woman with a woman's smart mind, a mother of four—that is Katharine Graham who has more power than any other woman has ever had in publishing."[34] This description, like the *Business Week* article, mixed the characteristically feminine qualities of softness, gentleness, lack of aggressiveness and motherhood with knowledge and power to create a new image of professional women. Graham's unique mixture of aggressive professional action, dependence on her male staff and lack of interest in becoming an idol for the feminine revolution offered magazines a safer outlet for the gradual change in coverage of women. Schlesinger wrote, "A figurehead no longer, she has gracefully and firmly established her authority,"[35] and he praised Graham's style of leadership over that of Cissy Patterson, who was known for her controlling leadership tactics. Perhaps as a reflection of their society, these 1967 articles recognized and praised women's, and Graham's, entrance into the professional world but then used her to illustrate the success gained by retaining a soft and gentle, or feminine, demeanor.

Graham made much personal growth in the four years after her takeover of the company. In *The Powers That Be,* David Halberstam commented that by 1968, "she [Kay] had gathered enough confidence to make lunch reservations under her own name, not the guest's."[36] Magazine coverage continued to reflect this change, and by 1968, the depiction of Graham as her company's housemother and cheerleader had morphed into that of a queen ruling her court.

In December 1968, *Harper's Monthly* published a ten-page article titled "The Lady As Publisher" with the subtext, "Kay Graham rules her communications empire and commands the loyalty of her (all male) court by being feminine, direct, and invincibly knowledgeable."[37] The article gave Graham credit for the positive direction of the company, focusing on how her feminine qualities had helped her in the workplace. She had made no effort to enter the feminist battle, and *Harper's* lauded her for bringing a woman's perspective to the professional world while allowing her male court to run the company. The article's author, Martin Mayer, referred to her as a woman and then corrected himself to call her a lady. He went on to explain how she acquired her position and stated, "The words daughter and widow are necessary, too, to explain her style, for Mrs. Graham is surely the most feminine (if perhaps not the most female) of the nation's leading career women."[38] Mayer then stated, "Like the loyal lady of any house, Mrs. Graham accepts her responsibilities much more often than she asserts her authority," and "The essence of Mrs. Graham's questioning is that she is not persistent."[39] The idea persisted throughout the article that the professional woman's contribution to the workplace should be her pleasant presence and support, and not controversial questions or unpopular actions. The article depicted her as accepting this position, which she often did. Though the article failed to mention it, in 1968 Bradlee eliminated the "For and About Women" section of the *Post* and replaced it with "Style." Graham complained that the editors had stolen her women's section but failed to exert her power to reinstate it. This supported Mayer's statement that Graham "enjoys their [the editors'] militant male democracy too much to wish to disrupt them." Thus, she represented the perfect mix for the magazines of the late 1960s: she held a powerful and influential professional position but maintained the soft-sided deference to men to which American society was accustomed.

Published just a year after articles made only short references to Graham's work in the newspaper field, "The Lady As Publisher" dedicated nearly an entire page to her personal history and reporting experience. It was the first magazine to note that unlike Katharine, neither her husband nor her father had any experience in the newspaper industry before their work with the *Post.* "In some ways, Mrs. Graham was better equipped for her role on the *Post* than either her father or her husband had been when they first took control," the article stated. "As an adolescent, a new A.B., and a working wife she had held jobs on the paper while both Eugene Meyer and Phil Graham had started their publishing careers at the top."[40] Unlike *Vogue* or *Business Week, Harper's* recognized Graham's determination to secure a job in the newspaper industry without her father's help after college, and it also noted her work as a reporter in San Francisco and with the *Post.* With this background, the article admitted that the Post Company's changes and improvements may have been a result of Graham's reporting experience and leadership. The author wrote, "She reacts like a fire filly hearing a bell to the tale of her Jacksonville television station's exposure of municipal malfeasance; and every so often after a dinner with the mighty she will, in her words, play 'Brenda Starr, girl reporter' and call her editors with a story."[41] This article helped illustrate the rapid changes the magazine industry underwent during the feminine revolution. The 1968 depiction of Graham still centered on her upstanding feminine qualities, but it included a larger emphasis on her role as an active and powerful leader for her company than even the 1967 articles. Meyer condensed this message into one paragraph near the end of the feature:

> Behind her natural shyness and deliberate self-effacement ("I pick the wool off blankets") lies a bright core of pride; and a combination permits a wee penumbra of healthy vanity. By being tough, Mrs. Graham will make a proprietor's contribution. But there is a further, unique contribution that she makes by being a lady and a rather lonely widow and by temperament dependent on men.[42]

Graham was quickly realizing, though, that she was no longer working under the shadow of her husband's success and that she had the respect and admiration of many people, especially women. Halberstam said in *The Powers That Be,* "Very soon she realized that she did in fact hold the power, that the others, all those men who were bright and quick and facile, were *totally dependent on her.*"[43]

In 1971, two events secured the *Washington Post,* and Graham, a place in American history: publication of information on the Pentagon Papers and the Watergate reporting that eventually resulted in President Richard Nixon's resignation. Attorney General John Mitchell told Graham in 1970 that he viewed the *Post* as the best newspaper in the country and in 1971, when he received word of the *Post*'s investigation into Watergate, he said, "Katie Graham's gonna get her tit caught in a big fat wringer."[44] Graham was ready for battle, though, giving her editors permission to publish information despite the warning of her long-time advisor Frederick (Fritz) Beebe and diving into public speaking to defend her company. Magazines reflected the confidence and prominence Graham gained throughout these experiences, with *McCall's* publishing a nine-page feature story complete with pictures in September 1971. The article, titled "Katharine Graham and How She Grew," was subtitled, "She may have more power than any woman in the United States. And now, at long last, she is beginning to enjoy it."[45] *McCall's* seemed to pick up where the 1960s magazine left off, presenting Graham as modest, motherly and in control of one of the most powerful communication companies in the country. The magazine, though targeted at women, seemed reluctant to accept the cries of feminine extremists and instead applauded Graham for achieving success with a classy feminine touch. The article favorably compared Graham's light-handed approach to that of female publishers Patterson and Schiff, who printed their own editorials on the front page or removed editorials with which they disagreed. Like earlier articles, *McCall's* commented on Graham's disarming demeanor and her tendency to make fun of herself, but took an additional step by reminding readers, "Still, Kay Graham is quite capable of making the big, tough decision all by herself."[46] This article also documented the birth of Graham's interest in the ever-increasing women's movement. "Mama," as many of Graham's top editors referred to her, had little interest in being a figurehead for the changing role of women and, according to the article, "played a reluctant role at *Newsweek* last year after forty-six women employees accused the magazine of sex discrimination."[47] One of these women said, "Unfortunately, she [Katharine] didn't really seem to believe anything was wrong and said she was sure the men were doing the best they could. It was a very Uncle Tomish position."[48] The article then noted that since the event, "Kay Graham has turned pro-women's lib, and behind the scenes she has quietly prodded the *Newsweek* editors to hire and promote more women."[49] *The Post*'s groundbreaking coverage of Watergate and the Pentagon Papers gave Graham confidence in herself that translated to confidence in her gender. This realization changed her view of the feminine movement but not necessarily her opinions on the roles of men and women. A 1970 book on Washington newswomen said, "Though Kay isn't totally in sympathy with the Women's Liberation movement ('They scream too loudly') she thinks its message is a valid one."[50] Graham said in the *McCall's* feature:

> Women's lib has done a fantastic amount of good. It's not only the men who are prejudiced; it's the women who fall into the role of accepting the prejudiced treatment, of being prejudiced against themselves. I guess I fell into that role, too. It never occurred to me that I could do a serious job. I still have deficiencies, but they're not due to my sex.[51]

Graham was not an extreme feminist, but she began to recognize the power of her role in displaying the potential and capabilities of women and giving them the confidence that she had lacked. *McCall's* marked this transition in Graham, giving more emphasis to her strength and leadership than her femininity for perhaps the first time in her growing magazine coverage. She did not attempt to lead a female revolution but tried to set a positive and encouraging example. When *Ms.*, the first feminist magazine, was trying to break into the market in 1971 it was unable to find financial support. Graham invested $20,000 in the magazine, a controversial and cutting edge concept, asking only for the promise of anonymity.[52]

In 1973, *The Washington Post* secured its fame, receiving a Pulitzer Prize for Meritorious Public Service for breaking coverage of the Watergate scandal. *Vogue* recognized the importance of this event and printed its second feature on the new post-

Watergate Graham. While the magazine's 1967 article pictured a smiling Graham lounging in front of the camera, the 1973 article depicted a stern Graham in a black business suit with a crisp white collar in her office at *The Washington Post*. The cut line noted that behind her was the April 6, 1973, University of Missouri Honor Award for Distinguished Service in Journalism awarded to the *Post*. The article followed the precedent of portraying Graham as a behind-the-scenes leader who never fully adjusted to her power: "Mrs. Graham has been labeled the most powerful woman in America . . . . she has also been labeled shy."[53] Graham's new aura of confidence impressed the article's female author Jean Stafford, who wrote, "She [Katharine] plays her role with stylish assurance, but beneath her serenity there seem to be small ruffles of surprise that she can carry it off each day: these are undertones so faint it is possible they are audible only to my covetous ear—covetous of so much aplomb."[54] The article also featured two pages of photographs of Graham in her luxurious Georgetown house. Though it took Graham's leadership more seriously than it had ten years before, the 1973 article did not mention many of Graham's important professional strides, such as being named CEO and chairman of the board of directors in May. *Vogue*'s 1973 article still presented Graham as a mixture of unassuming socialite and publishing powerhouse.

In 1974, Graham received a two-page article in *Forbes* magazine that praised her managerial skills, which was the element of her position she worked hardest at and for which she most wanted to receive praise. The article focused primarily, though, on the financial success of the Washington Post Company and its rise to power. With the opening line, "Thanks to Watergate, Katharine Graham, 57, has become perhaps the most influential woman in the U.S.,"[55] the article outlined its reason for profiling Graham. It described her strength but also devoted ample space to supporting figures such as Frederick Beebe, chairman of the company, Larry Israel, president of the company after Beebe's death, Gibson McCabe, president of *Newsweek,* and Robert Campbell, publisher of *Newsweek.* The article also tackled several of the Post Company's weaknesses, thus refusing to fully succumb to the popular view of Graham's idyllic success as an accidental female media leader. It cited thin management, soaring costs at *Newsweek* and a general lack of profitability within the company. Perhaps because *Forbes* did not specifically target women, or because the force of the women's revolution had hit a plateau, the 1974 article focused less on the amazing transformation of Graham and produced a more objective overview of the recent changes, strengths and weaknesses of the burgeoning Washington Post Company.

Riding the fame of the Pentagon Papers and Watergate, Graham continued to appear throughout the magazine world. In September 1974, *The New Yorker* covered her after discovering she was slated as the cover story for the October edition of the innovative *Ms.* magazine. *The New Yorker* seemed to subtly infer that *Ms.* magazine and others used Graham as a figurehead to support the women's revolution instead of presenting an objective perception. It referred to Graham's recent travels and awards, saying, "It's not her favorite activity, but she does it anyway, because the honors are as much for her paper and her sex as for herself."[56] Focused almost exclusively on the fact that Graham would be honored by *Ms.* in October, the article illustrated the discrepancy between the message *Ms.* hoped to send and the actual opinions and personality of Graham. It described a breakfast held by *Ms.* to honor Graham, with editors serving a full meal and guest speakers praising Graham. *Ms.* magazine had invited *Newsweek* publisher

McCabe to recount the story of Graham flinging an ashtray at him for suggesting that inviting a woman to a sales meeting would be problematic. Though McCabe admitted he did not know why the story was important, the president of the *Ms.* Magazine Corporation said, "*We* know what the point of the story is. That's why we asked you to tell it."[57] *The New Yorker,* not specifically targeting women and therefore less biased about presenting Graham as a female icon, reported on Graham's less than enthusiastic response to her appearance on the *Ms.* cover. She stated:

> The invitation that Ms. extends on its cover—to meet America's most powerful woman—was, as Gloria [Stetnem] said, particularly off-putting to me. The power of the press, in my views, lies only in its professionalism, in its ability to inform the people, and an emphasis on personal power distorts that vision. I don't have to say to a group of Eastern elitists like this one that I'm proud of the job done by the reporters and editors of the *Post,* but I think that, because of the attacks on our motives and credibility, the role of the press has been made far too prominent.

She summed up her opinion of her growing level of media coverage as president of the Washington Post Company, "I feel strongly now that our profile should be diminished to its true purpose, that of a chronicler of events, not participants."[58] Graham wanted to be recognized as a pioneer in the world of effective management, not women's rights. She was proud of her company's success as a reflection of her leadership and wanted to be recognized for this. Instead, the majority of magazines wanted to use Graham to illustrate the changing role of women and their potential professional success. A cartoon in the same issue of *The New Yorker* depicted a woman manager barking into the phone at her underlings beneath a company poster with her smiling photograph.[59] As more of a news magazine, *The New Yorker* attempted to address the deeper issue of the use of Graham by magazines, women's magazines in particular, to support the feminine revolution.

As promised in the September edition of *The New Yorker, Ms.* magazine featured Graham as its cover story in October 1974. *Ms*. magazine, launched in 1972 as the first magazine for and about feminists, broke from previous portrayals of Graham as the timid housewife who rose to success. The 1974 magazine cover proclaimed, "Meet the Most Powerful Woman in America: Katharine Graham."[60] True to its headline, the magazine offered an image of Graham as the woman who successfully conquered both the business world and high society because of her experience, her personality, her money and her luck. Unlike the offhanded references to Graham's education in the magazines of the late 1960s, *Ms.* devoted a page-long feature to her education titled "Kay Meyer Goes to College." It also questioned the perceptions of Graham as both a professional tyrant and a high society diva and attempted to give the average woman ways to relate to her. *Ms.* discarded the image of a lady-like Graham and presented both the privileges and the pitfalls of her position. This article was the only one between 1963 and 1975 that offered an in-depth look at her diverse personality and showed a glimpse of the real person and not the idyllic image. It quoted Graham:

> If one is rich and one's a woman, one can be quite misunderstood. I'm afraid that on Wall Street they think all I'm after is prizes and ego trips; that how the stock does doesn't matter to me. Half of them think I don't work at all and just go to parties; the other half think I'm obsessed with Watergate. I get a lot of flak at the *Post,* too, when I talk about profitability. They get up pretty tight at the mention of M-O-N-E-Y; they think I'm some heartless bitch. I have to do an endless song and dance about how excellence and profitability go hand in hand—which isn't an act. I really think they do. It costs plenty to put two people on a story for sixteen months, and profit-making *is* my priority. If it weren't, I goddamn well shouldn't be here.[61]

With bits of foul language, a common act for Graham at the office, this quote demonstrated the magazine's effort to present Graham's true personality. *Ms.* presented probably the most accurate portrayal of her until its description of her as an "Aunt Tom" in the last several paragraphs of the article. Despite her support of *Ms.* magazine, which she requested be kept secret, and her advocacy for respect for women, Graham was not a blazing feminist.

By 1975, Graham had earned nationwide respect as the active leader of a successful company. American society was willing to accept that her management skills, and not just the aid of her male managers, had contributed to the company's boom. Magazines began to take her more seriously, no longer featuring her accidental rise to power or her importance as a female role model but suddenly discussing the unique managerial style she brought to the company. In 1975, Graham appeared in *Dun's, Business Week* and *Time* magazine but was not featured in any publications targeted specifically at women. *Dun's* published "The Education of Katharine Graham" with the subtitle, "For all her fame, Kay Graham's emergence as a strong chief executive has gone largely unnoticed."[62] It described her tendency to place talented managers in key positions and then give them freedom to lead without interference as a leadership tactic instead of a professional weakness. Adamant that Graham was much more than a figurehead, the article's only reference to the effect of gender on her role was a quote from Graham: "I think if there is one way I handle this job differently than a man might, it is perhaps that as a woman I can get along better with strong male executives."[63] An accurate representation of Graham's stance, the article, and even the quote, recognized her management skills without placing undue emphasis on her gender. It questioned her on the difficulties she faced entering the company with little management knowledge and as a woman leader, but it kept the focus on her growth as the leader of an important American company.

With an article in the management section of its September 29, 1975, edition, *Business Week* described Graham as an "Organization Woman" who "has converted managerial power to convert a loosely structured, family-owned enterprise into a professional, publicly held corporation."[64] Though it credited Graham with effective leadership, it also suggested that her role as both chairman and publisher provided a complicated and sometimes difficult chain-of-command. Like *Dun's, Business Week* focused primarily on the organizational changes Graham had made within the Post Company and not on her personal story of success. Also aimed at describing her effective management, *Time* magazine's one-page article on Graham's action during the pressmen's strike in 1975 is the final magazine coverage of Graham within the parameters of this study.[65] With a brief paragraph on Graham's rise to publisher of the *Post,* the article primarily cited her desire to become a successful leader and to win a Pulitzer Prize for management. It described her tenacity as she went to work in the newsroom to keep her newspaper publishing despite a walkout by the press operators. Magazines no longer needed to use Graham as an example of the changing position of women in society because the feminine revolution had slowed considerably. Hype of the release of the birth control pill in the 1950s was losing momentum, the idea of women in the work force was no longer a new concept and many feminist organizations were reaching their ten- or fifteen-year anniversaries. By 1975, Graham's newsworthy quality stemmed from her leadership of a successful company and not from her role as a female manager.

The magazine industry followed, and helped create, Graham's flawless media journey from helpless widow to America's most powerful woman between 1963 and

1975. Though often based in truth, magazine coverage of Graham's rise to power was affected by the changing role of women in the 1960s and 1970s. Not only were magazines trying to explore this change, but they were directly affected by it with the growth of magazines targeting the new American women. The in-depth coverage of Graham in the five women's magazine articles probably resulted from a need to recognize and support a feminine movement that called for professional equality for women.

Graham was featured predominantly because she was only a woman until 1974, when news and business magazines deemed her company's success a result of her excellent management. She was a unique mixture of no-nonsense manager, high society hostess and gentle mother which appealed to a variety of magazines with different audiences and topics. Because her rise to a professional powerhouse coincided with that of the feminine revolution, Graham became an ideal feature story for magazines wanting to explore the changing roles of women. This media exposure and her company's successful handling of the Pentagon Papers, Watergate and the pressmen's strike catapulted her into the pages of news and business magazines as an impressive leader. Though Graham made important changes within the Washington Post Company, her fame resulted more from coverage of her as the ideal female leader than her actual impact on the company. Somewhere beneath the descriptions of a passive manager, a tyrannical leader, a high society lady and a foul-mouthed member of the good ol' boys network, or perhaps simply a combination of them, was the true Graham.

Notes

[1] See "Katharine Graham: The Power That Didn't Corrupt," *Ms.*, October 1974, cover; and additional references to Graham as the most powerful and influential woman in the United States in the September 1971 *McCall's*, December 1973 *Vogue*, July 15, 1974 *Forbes*, September 23, 1974 *New Yorker*, July 1975 *Dun's*, September 29, 1975 *Business Week* and December 29, 1975 *Time*; and Kay Mills, *A Place in the News: From Women's Pages to the Front Page* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1988), 276.

[2] In her autobiography, Graham attributed her success with the Washington Post Company to two factors, "One was Fritz Beebe and the circle of men who had served Phil so well and who remained in place to help me. The other was luck." See Katharine Graham, *Personal History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 341.

[3] "The media work to create leaders, they know of no way of relating to us [women's] own terms. . . . Creating leaders also increases the power of the mass media to define our movement for us. . . . A major misconception is the belief that the media will deal with us seriously and present a truthful picture of who we are." See Maurine Beasley and Sheila Gibbons, *Women in Media: A Documentary Source Book* (Washington D.C.: Women's Institute for the Free Press, 1977), 117.

[4] "Some would say that Kay Graham never really changed her opinion of the capabilities of women. But little by little, this woman who believed in the innate superiority of men, who believed, at some level that who were aggressive and dominant would turn into monsters like her mother, began to catch on." See Carol Felsenthal, *Power, Privilege and The Post* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1993), 236.

[5] Brian Lamb, *Booknotes Life Stories: Notable Biographers on the People Who Shaped America* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1999), 337.

[6] "The Education of Katharine Graham," *Dun's Review and Modern Industry*, June 1975, 67.

[7] "The resistance of daily newspaper hierarchies to expand reporter power and to allow the use of new journalism techniques momentarily energized the magazine industry, and writers adopted magazines as their favorite medium for challenging institutional structures." See Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter, *Voices of a Nation* (Massachusetts: Allyn & Bacon, 1989), 466.

[8] The *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* for 1976 listed the publication of a 1976 speech by Graham in *Vital Speeches*, but no magazine feature articles.

[9] Graham was pictured on the magazine's cover with the quote, "Meet the Most Powerful Woman in America: Katharine Graham." See "Katharine Graham: The Power That Didn't Corrupt," *Ms.*, October 1974.

[10] "A Discontented Man," *Time*, August 9, 1963, 62.

[11] Graham gave three principles, established by her father, as the foundation on which she would continue to lead the Washington Post Company: "The newspaper's duty is to its readers and to the public at large, and not to the private interests of its owner. In the pursuit of truth, the newspaper shall be prepared to make sacrifice of its material fortunes, if cause be necessary for the public good. The newspaper shall not be the ally of any special interest, but shall be fair and free and wholesome in its outlook on public affairs and public men." See "Top of the Week," *Newsweek*, September 30, 1963, 11.

[12] "A Tradition—A Legacy," *Newsweek*, August 19, 1963, 31.

[13] Graham spent a month traveling with her mother after Phil Graham's death, and went to work upon her return. She said, "I didn't really see myself as taking over the *Post*, but I did go to work right away. . . . I was encouraged by some of the executives and mainly by Frederick Beebe, whom Phil had made the

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chairman, who had been our corporate lawyer. He said, 'You have to come to work." I was happy to do that, because I cared a great deal about the company and about the *Post*. . . . It'd been part of my whole life, and I knew what had gone into making it as successful as it was, which was still competitive." See Lamb, *Booknotes Life Stories: Notable Biographers on the People Who Shaped America*, 337.

[14] See Lamb, *Booknotes Life Stories*, 337; and "A Discontented Man," 62.

[15] "A Tradition—A Legacy," 31.

[16] Graham, *Personal History*, 103.

[17] *Ibid.*, 91.

[18] Lamb, *Booknotes Life Stories*, 337.

[19] Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1963), 233.

[20] Pauline Tompkins, "Change and Challenge For the Educated Woman," *Saturday Review*, May 18, 1963, 69.

[21] The Commission on the Status of Women reported to President John F. Kennedy on October 11, 1963 that following research, it had "issued a directive to public employment offices in the States, instructing their staffs to refer applicants on the basis of qualifications regardless of sex and requesting employers using these offices to avoid job orders specifying sex except where genuinely warranted." The report added that "Action should be undertaken to encourage employers who do not have Government contracts to comply with the Federal policy of nondiscrimination." See "Report of President's Commission on the Status of Women," *Monthly Labor Review*, October 1963, 1166-1169.

[22] Tompkins, "Change and Challenge For the Educated Woman," 69.

[23] "Women: A New Femininity," *Time*, February 8, 1963, 37.

[24] Felsenthal quoted Philip Geyelin, former editor of *the Washington Post*. See Felsenthal, "Power, Privilege and the Post," 228.

[25] *Ibid.*, 236.

[26] "That *Vogue* magazine chose to run a gushing profile by her friend Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in its January 1967 issue was, undoubtedly, a direct result of the ball." See *Ibid.*, 254.

[27] See Winzola McLendon and Scottie Smith, "Don't Quote Me," (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc.), 1970, 163; and Karl Meyer, a long-time *Post* editorialist, said "the ball was a milestone in Kay's transition from shy widow—she described herself at the time as living like a monk—to international powerhouse." See Felsenthal, "Power, Privilege and the Post," 254.

[28] "The power behind the Post," *Business Week*, May 27, 1967, 158-164.

[29] "The President [Johnson] has ordered that all government agencies scour their personnel files, find capable women, and promote them. . . . This Presidential concern with womanpower spotlights the place of women in the working world today." It was interesting to note however, that the subtitle of the article was "Teacher, Nurse, or Music Maker . . . today's woman has a wide world of careers to choose from," implying that women should choose a traditionally feminine career. See "Careers and Women," *Senior Scholastic*, November 11, 1964, 22; and Maurine Beasley and Sheila Gibbons, *Women in Media*, 109.

[30] "The power behind the Post," 159.

[31] *Ibid.*, 164.

[32] *Ibid.*, 160.

[33] "Women," *Time*, 37.

[34] Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "Katharine Graham: New Power in the American Press," *Vogue*, January 11, 1967, 108.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] David Halberstam, *The Powers That Be* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 584.

[37] Martin Mayer, "The Lady As Publisher," *Harper's Monthly*, December 1968, 90-100.

[38] *Ibid.*, 90.

[39] *Ibid.*, 91.

[40] *Ibid.*, 96.

[41] *Ibid.*, 99.

[42] *Ibid.*, 100.

[43] "By 1969, the *Post* had reporters and editors who had never met, much less been charmed by, Phil Graham. It had women who thought of Kay Graham as the most powerful woman in publishing, as the role model rather than some cast-off casualty of a husband's philandering." See Felsenthal, *Power Privilege and the Post*, 284; and Halberstam, *The Powers That Be*, 584.

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[44] See Susanna McBee, "Katharine Graham and How She Grew," *McCall's*, September 1971, 131; and Jane Howard, "Katharine Graham: The Power That Didn't Corrupt," *Ms.*, October 1974, 47.
[45] McBee, "Katharine Graham and How She Grew," 77.
[46] *Ibid.*, 79.
[47] *Ibid.*, 132.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] McLendon and Smith, *Don't Quote Me*, 166.
[51] McBee, "Katharine Graham and How She Grew," 133.
[52] See Maurine Beasley and Sheila Gibbons, *Women in Media*, 122; and Howard, "Katharine Graham," 48.
[53] Jean Stafford, "Katharine Graham," *Vogue*, December 1973, 205.
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] "Kay Graham, Manager," *Forbes*, July 15, 1974, 30-31.
[56] "Cover Woman," *New Yorker*, September 23, 1974, 32-33.
[57] *Ibid.*, 33.
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] *Ibid.*, 39.
[60] Howard, "Katharine Graham," cover.
[61] *Ibid.*, 50.
[62] "The Education of Katharine Graham," *Dun's Review and Modern Industry*, June 1975, 67.
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] "An Organization Woman remakes the Post," *Business Week*, September 29, 1975, 43-48.
[65] "The Right to Manage," *Time*, December 29, 1975, 66.

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Magazine Coverage of Katharine Meyer Graham, 1963-1975

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Magazine Coverage of Katharine Meyer Graham, 1963-1975

Abstract:

From her husband's death in 1963 through Watergate, the Pentagon Papers and a pressmen strike in 1975, Katharine Graham rose to success as the head of the Washington Post Company. The blossoming feminist movement coincided with Graham's rise to power and American magazines molded her into a figurehead for the women's liberation movement. Initially receiving coverage based on her gender, Graham eventually earned magazine attention for her successful management.

She was not the first female leader in the media, but history made her the most famous. She was not a passionate feminist, but American magazines made her a women's liberation role model. In 1963, Katharine Meyer Graham, a self-conscious widow and mother of four, landed unexpectedly in the role of president of the Washington Post empire. She made her hesitant debut as a female leader in a male-dominated profession amidst new legislation on equal opportunities for women, a burgeoning feminine movement and the explosive growth in magazine coverage of the new American woman. Though American magazines gave little notice to Graham's appearance on the professional scene, they were proclaiming her the most powerful woman in America by the mid 1970s and even today she remains probably the most recognized woman in the history of American newspapers, if not all of the American media.[1]

American magazines, especially those targeting women, captured Graham's transformation from doting housewife to female media mogul, molding her into a figurehead for the women's rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Despite true personal and professional growth and excellent management, Graham's initial success as president and later publisher of the Washington Post Company depended largely on her supporting staff and the hand of events that history dealt to her.[2] This success, regardless of how she acquired or maintained it, provided the blossoming magazine industry with a face for coverage of the women's liberation movement.[3] Though Graham held little interest in fighting for women's rights, she eventually recognized the power her position held for supporting equality and inspiring confidence in women.[4] From Phil Graham's death in 1963 through the three famous capers in the Washington Post Company's history, magazine coverage of Graham initially sought to illustrate the changing role of women, but she eventually earned coverage based on her performance and not her gender.

This study examined magazine coverage of Graham, and the possible impact of the feminine revolution on this coverage, from her inheritance of voting control of the Washington Post Company in 1963 to 1975, which was the year of the last incident of what she described as "the three really cosmic events that happened and in public."[5] These three events were the publication of a series of articles on the Pentagon Papers by *The Washington Post* starting on June 18, 1971, reporting on President Richard Nixon's Watergate scandal by *Post* reporters Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward also in 1971, and the pressmen's strike at the *Post* in September 1975. That year, Graham had reached a professional peak, with a 1975 article in *Dun's* saying "she has been called the most powerful woman in America so many times that a visitor to the Post's smartly decorated eighth-floor executive suite half expects to see that title flashing in neon above her door."[6]

The study analyzed magazine coverage because in the 1960s and 1970s, the magazine industry began to target niche audiences, such as women, and because increased reporter freedom and the use of new journalism techniques made it the most popular media for controversial issues such as equal rights for women.[7] To maintain consistency in the circulation of magazines studied and provide quantitative accuracy, the study selected magazine articles listed in the *Readers Guide to Periodical Literature* under the headings of Katharine Graham and The Washington Post Company from 1963 to 1975.[8] All listed articles were read to provide sufficient background on the level of magazine attention that Graham received, but the study included only articles that specifically featured her.

Articles focused specifically on the Washington Post Company, though they may have mentioned or quoted Graham, were excluded from this study.

Ten magazines featured Graham in a total of twelve articles between 1963 and 1975. Other than brief mentions in her husband's obituaries in *Time, Newsweek* and *Art News*, Graham's only magazine coverage prior to 1967 was a short article on her ascension to president of the Washington Post Company in her own *Newsweek* in September 1963. In 1967 she was prominently featured in *Business Week* and *Vogue*. She appeared sporadically throughout the next several years, with one article in 1968, one in 1971 and one in 1973. Three articles featured Graham in 1974, followed by an additional three articles in 1975. Of Graham's twelve feature articles, five appeared in magazines with female target audiences and seven appeared in business or news magazines. The gender of the articles' authors was not analyzed because seven of the twelve articles contained no byline. Of the remaining five authors, three were women and two were men, which suggested that trends in magazine portrayal of Graham were not tied to the gender of the writers.

The number of articles did not accurately represent actual coverage of Graham by women's or general audience magazines due to the varying length of articles. Though only five of the twelve articles appeared in women's magazines, these articles ranged from three to nine pages, with four of the articles including prominent photographs. Six of the seven business and news magazine articles were three pages or less and the seventh was five pages. Therefore, Graham received more pages of coverage in women's magazines despite the lower number of articles. Graham's appearance in news and business magazines may have been affected by the need to cover the impact of events such as the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the war in Vietnam and the resignation of President Richard Nixon, all of which occurred within the time frame of this study.

The lone gunshot of Philip Graham's suicide in 1963 signaled the start of Graham's life journey, a personal and professional voyage that would eventually earn her the title of "The Most Powerful Woman in America."[9] With her husband's death, Katharine inherited control of the Washington Post Company, an empire built by the sweat and passion of the Meyer family after Eugene Meyer, Katharine's father, purchased it in 1933. At the time of Philip's death, the company included *The Washington Post, Newsweek,* two art magazines, several television stations and a news service.[10] Katharine's inheritance of 50.1 percent of the voting shares of the Washington Post Company, and her subsequent election as the company's president by the board of directors in September 1963, resulted in her first magazine appearance. In its September 30 edition, *Newsweek* included a short article on the table of contents page and a small headshot photograph of Graham. The article quoted her reemphasis of the three foundational principles created by her father for *The Washington Post* in 1935: a devotion to the public and not to the interests of the owner, the choice of truth above financial gain and the refusal to create affiliations with special interest groups.[11] Graham's election as president of the company went unnoticed by all magazines except *Newsweek,* which was owned by her company. Even *Newsweek* did not deem it worthy of a complete article but covered it more as a brief on changes within the magazine.

The lack of coverage by *Newsweek* and other major magazines probably resulted from the fact that Graham was not the first female owner or manager of a major newspaper and showed little possibility of breaking new ground in this arena. Helen Rogers Reid and her husband had founded the *New York Herald-Tribune* in 1924, which she and her two sons controlled after her husband's death; Dorothy "Buffy" Buffum Chandler and her son had assumed joint control of the *Los Angeles Times* in 1960; Dorothy "Dolly" Schiff had been publisher of the *New York Post* since 1943 and would continue until 1976; and Alicia Patterson was finishing a twenty-three year tenure as editor and publisher of Long Island's *Newsday*. Graham was not even unique as the female head of a Washington newspaper, with Eleanor "Cissy" Medill Patterson serving as editor and publisher of the Washington *Herald*, the *Post*'s longtime rival, until her death in 1948. Also, Graham did not initially imply that she meant to take an active role in the company's leadership, and instead spoke about simply maintaining the family business until her son Donald could take over. At her first meeting with the board of directors in August 1963, she said, "This is a family business and will remain so. After all, there is a new generation coming along."[12] She said she never imagined herself taking over the *Post* but just went to work.[13]

Peripheral coverage of Graham in the 1963 magazine obituaries for her husband in *Time*, *Newsweek* and *Art News* also failed to suggest that she could, or wanted to, take an active role in the company. Though the obituaries were not considered feature coverage of Katharine, they provided the initial foundation on which future articles would build. *Time*'s only reference to Katharine was to comment that Philip's voting stock "will probably revert to Kay, his widow,"[14] while *Art News,* owned by the Washington Post Company, gave a short description of Graham and her family's longstanding support of the arts. Concentrated on the death of media and government sweetheart Philip Graham, these articles paid little attention to Katharine and her inheritance of the company, which would be the norm for the next several years. *Newsweek,* also owned by the Post Company, focused more attention on Katharine, citing her assurance that the company would not be split up or sold and dedicating a column to her background in the newspaper industry. It pointed out that she had grown up immersed in the field, working with her father who was then the owner of *The Washington Post,* and mentioned her college education and experience writing for the *San Francisco News* and *The Washington Post.* The increased credibility Graham gained from this background was then undermined by the magazine's only quote from her on her previous experience. She said of her time at the *News,* "I was the youngest and silliest girl on the paper. . . . But the photographers were kind and got me through."[15] The foundational coverage of Graham as unimportant to the company and inexperienced failed to reflect her personality or past, which was described in her 1997 Pulitzer Prize-winning autobiography, *Personal History.* According to Graham, she developed a significant interest in current events and the government, labor issues in particular, during her time at the University of Chicago. She corresponded often with her father about the progress of *The Washington Post* and spent a year in reporting in San Francisco before returning at her father's request to work for the *Post.* At the *Post,* she worked in the editorial department because she said she "felt it unwise to try to be a reporter back in Washington, since it would be awkward being the publisher's daughter."[16] Other than *Newsweek*'s understated mention of her previous journalism experience, magazine coverage of Graham at her husband's death portrayed her as a widow with an inheritance beyond her abilities.

This portrayal of Graham overlooked the intelligence she gained through both higher education and a family affluent enough to expose her to politics, art and recreation. Once she began having children, Graham chose to run her household and leave the public spotlight to her husband. She did not lack ability but felt inadequate to reach the professional success required by her high profile family and demanding mother, or what Graham coined "Meyerdom."[17] Her marriage to the Philip Graham allowed her the respectable position of wife, mother and high-society hostess. With little ambition to return to the professional world, she was content to manage every aspect of her family's life while her husband was busy building the family empire. She said:

> I adored our life. I liked being what I called the chief operating officer. I did everything at home. I kept the houses running; I took care of the children. I made the decisions about summers. I bought and sold houses and moved. I did everything that most families share because he [Phil] was working so hard, and I was trying to take the pressure off by doing everything at home. I was interested in our life; I was interested in meeting the people we met. I adored the family.[18]

Graham's role was a choice, and a respectable one in 1963 society, not the result of a lack of intellect or work ethic. Initially, magazines underestimated Graham by categorizing her as a housewife with little professional ability or aspiration.

Finding her husband, publisher of *The Washington Post* empire and a political powerhouse, lying dead on the bathroom floor placed Katharine in a pivotal position at a critical time in American history. Philip had just added *Newsweek* magazine to his impressive empire in 1961, and the *Washington Post* had experienced a higher volume of advertising than its rival *Washington Star* for the first time in the quarter before Philip's suicide. At the same time, women had begun to question the content housewife image projected by the mass media and to seek professional and social equality. In her 1963 book, *The Feminine Mystique,* Betty Frieden described the myth of the fulfilled housewife perpetuated by the mass media and society of the early 1960s:

> With a vision of a happy modern housewife as she is described by the magazines and television, by the functional sociologists, the sex directed educators, and the manipulators dancing before my eyes, I went in search of one of those mystical creatures. Like Diogenes with his lamp, I went as a reporter from suburb to suburb, searching for a woman of ability and education who was fulfilled as a housewife.[19]

The Feminine Mystique was one of many books and magazines that had begun to question the role of women in society.[20] Thus, Philip Graham's death offered Katharine a professional rebirth that coincided with the blossoming of the feminist movement in the United States.

When Graham succeeded her husband as president of the Washington Post Company in 1963, the United States was on the cusp of social change in the area of civil rights for women. In 1961, President John F. Kennedy appointed a commission on the Status of Women to explore the issue, and in 1964 Title VII of the Civil Rights Acts prohibited sex discrimination in employment.[21] In a 1963 *Saturday Review* article on the "Change and Challenge For the Educated Woman," author Pauline Tompkins stated, "Within the last two years there has been a steady outpouring of books and articles on women and their role. . . . *Esquire, The Saturday Evening Post, McCall's, Redbook, Harper's Monthly, The New York Times Magazine Section* are suggestive of the popular periodicals which have addressed themselves to the subject."[22] Though the changing role of women was being recognized, it was far from being widely accepted. At a San Francisco University symposium on women in 1963, author Morton M. Hunt said, "the new roles with which she [woman] has been experimenting have been sadly disconcerting to men, who have always been ready to raise the cry that women are 'losing their femininity.'"[23]

Graham experienced this resistance from the men in her company as she entered the scene and quickly discarded her role as a figurehead for a more active leadership position. Many of the men disliked taking orders from a woman, saying "What she needs is a good f---."[24] Though Graham held tightly to a deeply imbedded feeling that men were better suited to leadership positions, she began to gain confidence in her ability to be an effective manager. In her book on Graham's life, Carol Felsenthal said, "Some would say that Kay Graham never really changed her opinion of the capabilities of women. But little by little, this woman who believed in the innate superiority of men, who believed, at some level, that women who were aggressive and dominant would turn into monsters like her mother, began to catch on."[25] As Graham began to embrace the power of her position, her confidence and her company grew, as did her media exposure.

Between 1964 and 1975, Graham was featured in eleven articles in ten national magazines: *Vogue, Dun's, Ms., Business Week, McCall's, The New Yorker, Time, Forbes, Newsweek* and *Harper's Monthly.* After *Newsweek's* brief mention of her election as the company's president, Graham did not receive magazine coverage again until 1967, despite her company's growing power and her influential acquaintances.

In 1967, she received a feature article and photograph in *Vogue* and graced the cover of *Business Week,* with a five-page story and additional photos appearing inside. A probable cause for the sudden magazine attention was the high-society ball that Truman Capote, author of *In Cold Blood* and a close personal friend of Graham, threw in her honor in November 1966.[26] In a 1970 book on the importance of Washington newswomen, female authors Winzola McLendon and Scottie Smith said, "The famous Truman Capote *bal masqué* in her honor at the Plaza Hotel in New York a few years after her husband's death symbolized her transformation inwardly and outwardly: Cinderella may not have found another prince, but she had certainly found the glass slipper."[27] Graham was finding her professional footing, and the party gave magazines a reason to notice. The May 27, 1967, *Business Week* cover story began with this paragraph:

> When Truman Capote decided to give a party in New York last November, some 540 politicians, diplomats, scientists, and artists packed the Plaza for the season's most spectacular social event. The author of *In Cold Blood* coolly described the affair as his 'little masked ball for Kay Graham and all my friends.'

Business Week featured Graham on the cover as an angle on two bigger issues—the recent growth and success of the Washington Post Company and the changing role of women. The increasing popularity of television and financial problems were affecting newspapers across the country, but *The Washington Post* had risen to the number one newspaper in Washington, hitting the highest gross sale in its history in 1966.[28] The role of women also had continued to change with President Johnson's promotion of women in the workplace and the formation of The National Organization for Women in 1966.[29] This combination of factors made Graham a perfect opportunity for *Business Week* to combine the feminine revolution and an important corporate explosion in one illustrative feature.

The product of a society undergoing change, the article praised Graham's determination to keep her family's company, her increasing business knowledge and her prestigious friends, but it failed to completely discard the depiction of her as a traditional 1950s woman. It stated, "Mrs. Graham takes an interest that seems compounded of equal parts of housemother and cheerleader: she is benevolent, critical, prodding, relentlessly enthusiastic, and encourages what *Newsweek* Editor Osborn Elliott calls an 'atmosphere of freedom' in which 'good ideas will always get a hearing.'"[30] This phrase downplayed the importance of Graham's management, recognizing her more for looking after and encouraging her staff than for building the company professionally. The article did credit her with "exerting her heads-up editorial interest, particularly in picking topflight personnel," and with "the promotion of individual reporters and writers, who get a generous allotment of bylines."[31] But it failed to specifically mention Graham's decision to hire Benjamin Bradlee as deputy managing editor in June 1965, which became one of the most influential decisions in the *Post*'s history. By November 1965, she had replaced long-time friend and managing editor Alfred Friendly with Bradlee, and the newspaper was experiencing unprecedented success under his direction. The *Business Week* article devoted only one paragraph to Graham's previous journalism experience, saying that she "worked briefly as a Post reporter in 1939-40, but has done no reporting since."[32] It failed to mention her year of reporting in San Francisco or the fact that she continued writing for the *Post* even after the birth of her first child.

Despite its omissions, this article was the only major business or news magazine feature of Graham before 1974, putting it near the forefront of national coverage on women in the workforce. In a 1963 *Time* magazine article, writer Marya Mannes commented on the mass media's typical depiction of acceptable femininity: "Be thin, be smart, be gay, be sexy, be soft-spoken; Get new slip covers, learn new recipes, have bright children, further your man's career, help the community, drive the car, smile."[33] Though not the only magazine to cover the change in women's roles, *Business Week* helped to challenge traditional ideas with the positive portrayal of a woman in business and began paving the way for a new representation of Graham, and of American women, both personally and professionally.

Vogue also used Graham in 1967 to illustrate the larger issue of the changing role of women and their debut on the professional scene. An article in its January edition, written by Graham's friend Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., described her recent "emergence as a personality in Washington, New York and London" and began to positively depict her as an influential American female. The cut line for Graham's full-page photo described her as, "Attractive, gentle without yielding, soft without mental flab, knowledgeable without aggressiveness, a woman with a woman's smart mind, a mother of four—that is Katharine Graham who has more power than any other woman has ever had in publishing."[34] This description, like the *Business Week* article, mixed the characteristically feminine qualities of softness, gentleness, lack of aggressiveness and motherhood with knowledge and power to create a new image of professional women. Graham's unique mixture of aggressive professional action, dependence on her male staff and lack of interest in becoming an idol for the feminine revolution offered magazines a safer outlet for the gradual change in coverage of women. Schlesinger wrote, "A figurehead no longer, she has gracefully and firmly established her authority,"[35] and he praised Graham's style of leadership over that of Cissy Patterson, who was known for her controlling leadership tactics. Perhaps as a reflection of their society, these 1967 articles recognized and praised women's, and Graham's, entrance into the professional world but then used her to illustrate the success gained by retaining a soft and gentle, or feminine, demeanor.

Graham made much personal growth in the four years after her takeover of the company. In *The Powers That Be,* David Halberstam commented that by 1968, "she [Kay] had gathered enough confidence to make lunch reservations under her own name, not the guest's."[36] Magazine coverage continued to reflect this change, and by 1968, the depiction of Graham as her company's housemother and cheerleader had morphed into that of a queen ruling her court.

In December 1968, *Harper's Monthly* published a ten-page article titled "The Lady As Publisher" with the subtext, "Kay Graham rules her communications empire and commands the loyalty of her (all male) court by being feminine, direct, and invincibly knowledgeable."[37] The article gave Graham credit for the positive direction of the company, focusing on how her feminine qualities had helped her in the workplace. She had made no effort to enter the feminist battle, and *Harper's* lauded her for bringing a woman's perspective to the professional world while allowing her male court to run the company. The article's author, Martin Mayer, referred to her as a woman and then corrected himself to call her a lady. He went on to explain how she acquired her position and stated, "The words daughter and widow are necessary, too, to explain her style, for Mrs. Graham is surely the most feminine (if perhaps not the most female) of the nation's leading career women."[38] Mayer then stated, "Like the loyal lady of any house, Mrs. Graham accepts her responsibilities much more often than she asserts her authority," and "The essence of Mrs. Graham's questioning is that she is not persistent."[39] The idea persisted throughout the article that the professional woman's contribution to the workplace should be her pleasant presence and support, and not controversial questions or unpopular actions. The article depicted her as accepting this position, which she often did. Though the article failed to mention it, in 1968 Bradlee eliminated the "For and About Women" section of the *Post* and replaced it with "Style." Graham complained that the editors had stolen her women's section but failed to exert her power to reinstate it. This supported Mayer's statement that Graham "enjoys their [the editors'] militant male democracy too much to wish to disrupt them." Thus, she represented the perfect mix for the magazines of the late 1960s: she held a powerful and influential professional position but maintained the soft-sided deference to men to which American society was accustomed.

Published just a year after articles made only short references to Graham's work in the newspaper field, "The Lady As Publisher" dedicated nearly an entire page to her personal history and reporting experience. It was the first magazine to note that unlike Katharine, neither her husband nor her father had any experience in the newspaper industry before their work with the *Post.* "In some ways, Mrs. Graham was better equipped for her role on the *Post* than either her father or her husband had been when they first took control," the article stated. "As an adolescent, a new A.B., and a working wife she had held jobs on the paper while both Eugene Meyer and Phil Graham had started their publishing careers at the top."[40] Unlike *Vogue* or *Business Week, Harper's* recognized Graham's determination to secure a job in the newspaper industry without her father's help after college, and it also noted her work as a reporter in San Francisco and with the *Post.* With this background, the article admitted that the Post Company's changes and improvements may have been a result of Graham's reporting experience and leadership. The author wrote, "She reacts like a fire filly hearing a bell to the tale of her Jacksonville television station's exposure of municipal malfeasance; and every so often after a dinner with the mighty she will, in her words, play 'Brenda Starr, girl reporter' and call her editors with a story."[41] This article helped illustrate the rapid changes the magazine industry underwent during the feminine revolution. The 1968 depiction of Graham still centered on her upstanding feminine qualities, but it included a larger emphasis on her role as an active and powerful leader for her company than even the 1967 articles. Meyer condensed this message into one paragraph near the end of the feature:

> Behind her natural shyness and deliberate self-effacement ("I pick the wool off blankets") lies a bright core of pride; and a combination permits a wee penumbra of healthy vanity. By being tough, Mrs. Graham will make a proprietor's contribution. But there is a further, unique contribution that she makes by being a lady and a rather lonely widow and by temperament dependent on men.[42]

Graham was quickly realizing, though, that she was no longer working under the shadow of her husband's success and that she had the respect and admiration of many people, especially women. Halberstam said in *The Powers That Be,* "Very soon she realized that she did in fact hold the power, that the others, all those men who were bright and quick and facile, were *totally dependent on her.*"[43]

In 1971, two events secured the *Washington Post,* and Graham, a place in American history: publication of information on the Pentagon Papers and the Watergate reporting that eventually resulted in President Richard Nixon's resignation. Attorney General John Mitchell told Graham in 1970 that he viewed the *Post* as the best newspaper in the country and in 1971, when he received word of the *Post*'s investigation into Watergate, he said, "Katie Graham's gonna get her tit caught in a big fat wringer."[44] Graham was ready for battle, though, giving her editors permission to publish information despite the warning of her long-time advisor Frederick (Fritz) Beebe and diving into public speaking to defend her company. Magazines reflected the confidence and prominence Graham gained throughout these experiences, with *McCall's* publishing a nine-page feature story complete with pictures in September 1971. The article, titled "Katharine Graham and How She Grew," was subtitled, "She may have more power than any woman in the United States. And now, at long last, she is beginning to enjoy it."[45] *McCall's* seemed to pick up where the 1960s magazine left off, presenting Graham as modest, motherly and in control of one of the most powerful communication companies in the country. The magazine, though targeted at women, seemed reluctant to accept the cries of feminine extremists and instead applauded Graham for achieving success with a classy feminine touch. The article favorably compared Graham's light-handed approach to that of female publishers Patterson and Schiff, who printed their own editorials on the front page or removed editorials with which they disagreed. Like earlier articles, *McCall's* commented on Graham's disarming demeanor and her tendency to make fun of herself, but took an additional step by reminding readers, "Still, Kay Graham is quite capable of making the big, tough decision all by herself."[46] This article also documented the birth of Graham's interest in the ever-increasing women's movement. "Mama," as many of Graham's top editors referred to her, had little interest in being a figurehead for the changing role of women and, according to the article, "played a reluctant role at *Newsweek* last year after forty-six women employees accused the magazine of sex discrimination."[47] One of these women said, "Unfortunately, she [Katharine] didn't really seem to believe anything was wrong and said she was sure the men were doing the best they could. It was a very Uncle Tomish position."[48] The article then noted that since the event, "Kay Graham has turned pro-women's lib, and behind the scenes she has quietly prodded the *Newsweek* editors to hire and promote more women."[49] *The Post*'s groundbreaking coverage of Watergate and the Pentagon Papers gave Graham confidence in herself that translated to confidence in her gender. This realization changed her view of the feminine movement but not necessarily her opinions on the roles of men and women. A 1970 book on Washington newswomen said, "Though Kay isn't totally in sympathy with the Women's Liberation movement ('They scream too loudly') she thinks its message is a valid one."[50] Graham said in the *McCall's* feature:

> Women's lib has done a fantastic amount of good. It's not only the men who are prejudiced; it's the women who fall into the role of accepting the prejudiced treatment, of being prejudiced against themselves. I guess I fell into that role, too. It never occurred to me that I could do a serious job. I still have deficiencies, but they're not due to my sex.[51]

Graham was not an extreme feminist, but she began to recognize the power of her role in displaying the potential and capabilities of women and giving them the confidence that she had lacked. *McCall's* marked this transition in Graham, giving more emphasis to her strength and leadership than her femininity for perhaps the first time in her growing magazine coverage. She did not attempt to lead a female revolution but tried to set a positive and encouraging example. When *Ms.*, the first feminist magazine, was trying to break into the market in 1971 it was unable to find financial support. Graham invested $20,000 in the magazine, a controversial and cutting edge concept, asking only for the promise of anonymity.[52]

In 1973, *The Washington Post* secured its fame, receiving a Pulitzer Prize for Meritorious Public Service for breaking coverage of the Watergate scandal. *Vogue* recognized the importance of this event and printed its second feature on the new post-

Watergate Graham. While the magazine's 1967 article pictured a smiling Graham lounging in front of the camera, the 1973 article depicted a stern Graham in a black business suit with a crisp white collar in her office at *The Washington Post.* The cut line noted that behind her was the April 6, 1973, University of Missouri Honor Award for Distinguished Service in Journalism awarded to the *Post.* The article followed the precedent of portraying Graham as a behind-the-scenes leader who never fully adjusted to her power: "Mrs. Graham has been labeled the most powerful woman in America . . . . she has also been labeled shy."[53] Graham's new aura of confidence impressed the article's female author Jean Stafford, who wrote, "She [Katharine] plays her role with stylish assurance, but beneath her serenity there seem to be small ruffles of surprise that she can carry it off each day: these are undertones so faint it is possible they are audible only to my covetous ear—covetous of so much aplomb."[54] The article also featured two pages of photographs of Graham in her luxurious Georgetown house. Though it took Graham's leadership more seriously than it had ten years before, the 1973 article did not mention many of Graham's important professional strides, such as being named CEO and chairman of the board of directors in May. *Vogue*'s 1973 article still presented Graham as a mixture of unassuming socialite and publishing powerhouse.

In 1974, Graham received a two-page article in *Forbes* magazine that praised her managerial skills, which was the element of her position she worked hardest at and for which she most wanted to receive praise. The article focused primarily, though, on the financial success of the Washington Post Company and its rise to power. With the opening line, "Thanks to Watergate, Katharine Graham, 57, has become perhaps the most influential woman in the U.S.,"[55] the article outlined its reason for profiling Graham. It described her strength but also devoted ample space to supporting figures such as Frederick Beebe, chairman of the company, Larry Israel, president of the company after Beebe's death, Gibson McCabe, president of *Newsweek,* and Robert Campbell, publisher of *Newsweek.* The article also tackled several of the Post Company's weaknesses, thus refusing to fully succumb to the popular view of Graham's idyllic success as an accidental female media leader. It cited thin management, soaring costs at *Newsweek* and a general lack of profitability within the company. Perhaps because *Forbes* did not specifically target women, or because the force of the women's revolution had hit a plateau, the 1974 article focused less on the amazing transformation of Graham and produced a more objective overview of the recent changes, strengths and weaknesses of the burgeoning Washington Post Company.

Riding the fame of the Pentagon Papers and Watergate, Graham continued to appear throughout the magazine world. In September 1974, *The New Yorker* covered her after discovering she was slated as the cover story for the October edition of the innovative *Ms.* magazine. *The New Yorker* seemed to subtly infer that *Ms.* magazine and others used Graham as a figurehead to support the women's revolution instead of presenting an objective perception. It referred to Graham's recent travels and awards, saying, "It's not her favorite activity, but she does it anyway, because the honors are as much for her paper and her sex as for herself."[56] Focused almost exclusively on the fact that Graham would be honored by *Ms.* in October, the article illustrated the discrepancy between the message *Ms.* hoped to send and the actual opinions and personality of Graham. It described a breakfast held by *Ms.* to honor Graham, with editors serving a full meal and guest speakers praising Graham. *Ms.* magazine had invited *Newsweek* publisher

McCabe to recount the story of Graham flinging an ashtray at him for suggesting that inviting a woman to a sales meeting would be problematic. Though McCabe admitted he did not know why the story was important, the president of the *Ms.* Magazine Corporation said, "*We* know what the point of the story is. That's why we asked you to tell it."[57] *The New Yorker,* not specifically targeting women and therefore less biased about presenting Graham as a female icon, reported on Graham's less than enthusiastic response to her appearance on the *Ms.* cover. She stated:

> The invitation that Ms. extends on its cover—to meet America's most powerful woman—was, as Gloria [Stetnem] said, particularly off-putting to me. The power of the press, in my views, lies only in its professionalism, in its ability to inform the people, and an emphasis on personal power distorts that vision. I don't have to say to a group of Eastern elitists like this one that I'm proud of the job done by the reporters and editors of the *Post,* but I think that, because of the attacks on our motives and credibility, the role of the press has been made far too prominent.

She summed up her opinion of her growing level of media coverage as president of the Washington Post Company, "I feel strongly now that our profile should be diminished to its true purpose, that of a chronicler of events, not participants."[58] Graham wanted to be recognized as a pioneer in the world of effective management, not women's rights. She was proud of her company's success as a reflection of her leadership and wanted to be recognized for this. Instead, the majority of magazines wanted to use Graham to illustrate the changing role of women and their potential professional success. A cartoon in the same issue of *The New Yorker* depicted a woman manager barking into the phone at her underlings beneath a company poster with her smiling photograph.[59] As more of a news magazine, *The New Yorker* attempted to address the deeper issue of the use of Graham by magazines, women's magazines in particular, to support the feminine revolution.

As promised in the September edition of *The New Yorker, Ms.* magazine featured Graham as its cover story in October 1974. *Ms*. magazine, launched in 1972 as the first magazine for and about feminists, broke from previous portrayals of Graham as the timid housewife who rose to success. The 1974 magazine cover proclaimed, "Meet the Most Powerful Woman in America: Katharine Graham."[60] True to its headline, the magazine offered an image of Graham as the woman who successfully conquered both the business world and high society because of her experience, her personality, her money and her luck. Unlike the offhanded references to Graham's education in the magazines of the late 1960s, *Ms.* devoted a page-long feature to her education titled "Kay Meyer Goes to College." It also questioned the perceptions of Graham as both a professional tyrant and a high society diva and attempted to give the average woman ways to relate to her. *Ms.* discarded the image of a lady-like Graham and presented both the privileges and the pitfalls of her position. This article was the only one between 1963 and 1975 that offered an in-depth look at her diverse personality and showed a glimpse of the real person and not the idyllic image. It quoted Graham:

> If one is rich and one's a woman, one can be quite misunderstood. I'm afraid that on Wall Street they think all I'm after is prizes and ego trips; that how the stock does doesn't matter to me. Half of them think I don't work at all and just go to parties; the other half think I'm obsessed with Watergate. I get a lot of flak at the *Post,* too, when I talk about profitability. They get up pretty tight at the mention of M-O-N-E-Y; they think I'm some heartless bitch. I have to do an endless song and dance about how excellence and profitability go hand in hand—which isn't an act. I really think they do. It costs plenty to put two people on a story for sixteen months, and profit-making *is* my priority. If it weren't, I goddamn well shouldn't be here.[61]

With bits of foul language, a common act for Graham at the office, this quote demonstrated the magazine's effort to present Graham's true personality. *Ms.* presented probably the most accurate portrayal of her until its description of her as an "Aunt Tom" in the last several paragraphs of the article. Despite her support of *Ms.* magazine, which she requested be kept secret, and her advocacy for respect for women, Graham was not a blazing feminist.

By 1975, Graham had earned nationwide respect as the active leader of a successful company. American society was willing to accept that her management skills, and not just the aid of her male managers, had contributed to the company's boom. Magazines began to take her more seriously, no longer featuring her accidental rise to power or her importance as a female role model but suddenly discussing the unique managerial style she brought to the company. In 1975, Graham appeared in *Dun's*, *Business Week* and *Time* magazine but was not featured in any publications targeted specifically at women. *Dun's* published "The Education of Katharine Graham" with the subtitle, "For all her fame, Kay Graham's emergence as a strong chief executive has gone largely unnoticed."[62] It described her tendency to place talented managers in key positions and then give them freedom to lead without interference as a leadership tactic instead of a professional weakness. Adamant that Graham was much more than a figurehead, the article's only reference to the effect of gender on her role was a quote from Graham: "I think if there is one way I handle this job differently than a man might, it is perhaps that as a woman I can get along better with strong male executives."[63] An accurate representation of Graham's stance, the article, and even the quote, recognized her management skills without placing undue emphasis on her gender. It questioned her on the difficulties she faced entering the company with little management knowledge and as a woman leader, but it kept the focus on her growth as the leader of an important American company.

With an article in the management section of its September 29, 1975, edition, *Business Week* described Graham as an "Organization Woman" who "has converted managerial power to convert a loosely structured, family-owned enterprise into a professional, publicly held corporation."[64] Though it credited Graham with effective leadership, it also suggested that her role as both chairman and publisher provided a complicated and sometimes difficult chain-of-command. Like *Dun's, Business Week* focused primarily on the organizational changes Graham had made within the Post Company and not on her personal story of success. Also aimed at describing her effective management, *Time* magazine's one-page article on Graham's action during the pressmen's strike in 1975 is the final magazine coverage of Graham within the parameters of this study.[65] With a brief paragraph on Graham's rise to publisher of the *Post,* the article primarily cited her desire to become a successful leader and to win a Pulitzer Prize for management. It described her tenacity as she went to work in the newsroom to keep her newspaper publishing despite a walkout by the press operators. Magazines no longer needed to use Graham as an example of the changing position of women in society because the feminine revolution had slowed considerably. Hype of the release of the birth control pill in the 1950s was losing momentum, the idea of women in the work force was no longer a new concept and many feminist organizations were reaching their ten- or fifteen-year anniversaries. By 1975, Graham's newsworthy quality stemmed from her leadership of a successful company and not from her role as a female manager.

The magazine industry followed, and helped create, Graham's flawless media journey from helpless widow to America's most powerful woman between 1963 and

1975. Though often based in truth, magazine coverage of Graham's rise to power was affected by the changing role of women in the 1960s and 1970s. Not only were magazines trying to explore this change, but they were directly affected by it with the growth of magazines targeting the new American women. The in-depth coverage of Graham in the five women's magazine articles probably resulted from a need to recognize and support a feminine movement that called for professional equality for women.

Graham was featured predominantly because she was only a woman until 1974, when news and business magazines deemed her company's success a result of her excellent management. She was a unique mixture of no-nonsense manager, high society hostess and gentle mother which appealed to a variety of magazines with different audiences and topics. Because her rise to a professional powerhouse coincided with that of the feminine revolution, Graham became an ideal feature story for magazines wanting to explore the changing roles of women. This media exposure and her company's successful handling of the Pentagon Papers, Watergate and the pressmen's strike catapulted her into the pages of news and business magazines as an impressive leader. Though Graham made important changes within the Washington Post Company, her fame resulted more from coverage of her as the ideal female leader than her actual impact on the company. Somewhere beneath the descriptions of a passive manager, a tyrannical leader, a high society lady and a foul-mouthed member of the good ol' boys network, or perhaps simply a combination of them, was the true Graham.

Notes

[1] See "Katharine Graham: The Power That Didn't Corrupt," *Ms.*, October 1974, cover; and additional references to Graham as the most powerful and influential woman in the United States in the September 1971 *McCall's,* December 1973 *Vogue,* July 15, 1974 *Forbes,* September 23, 1974 *New Yorker,* July 1975 *Dun's,* September 29, 1975 *Business Week* and December 29, 1975 *Time*; and Kay Mills, *A Place in the News: From Women's Pages to the Front Page* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1988), 276.

[2] In her autobiography, Graham attributed her success with the Washington Post Company to two factors, "One was Fritz Beebe and the circle of men who had served Phil so well and who remained in place to help me. The other was luck." See Katharine Graham, *Personal History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 341.

[3] "The media work to create leaders, they know of no way of relating to us [women's] own terms. . . . Creating leaders also increases the power of the mass media to define our movement for us. . . . A major misconception is the belief that the media will deal with us seriously and present a truthful picture of who we are." See Maurine Beasley and Sheila Gibbons, *Women in Media: A Documentary Source Book* (Washington D.C.: Women's Institute for the Free Press, 1977), 117.

[4] "Some would say that Kay Graham never really changed her opinion of the capabilities of women. But little by little, this woman who believed in the innate superiority of men, who believed, at some level that who were aggressive and dominant would turn into monsters like her mother, began to catch on." See Carol Felsenthal, *Power, Privilege and The Post* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1993), 236.

[5] Brian Lamb, *Booknotes Life Stories: Notable Biographers on the People Who Shaped America* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1999), 337.

[6] "The Education of Katharine Graham," *Dun's Review and Modern Industry,* June 1975, 67.

[7] "The resistance of daily newspaper hierarchies to expand reporter power and to allow the use of new journalism techniques momentarily energized the magazine industry, and writers adopted magazines as their favorite medium for challenging institutional structures." See Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter, *Voices of a Nation* (Massachusetts: Allyn & Bacon, 1989), 466.

[8] The *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* for 1976 listed the publication of a 1976 speech by Graham in *Vital Speeches,* but no magazine feature articles.

[9] Graham was pictured on the magazine's cover with the quote, "Meet the Most Powerful Woman in America: Katharine Graham." See "Katharine Graham: The Power That Didn't Corrupt," *Ms.,* October 1974.

[10] "A Discontented Man," *Time*, August 9, 1963, 62.

[11] Graham gave three principles, established by her father, as the foundation on which she would continue to lead the Washington Post Company: "The newspaper's duty is to its readers and to the public at large, and not to the private interests of its owner. In the pursuit of truth, the newspaper shall be prepared to make sacrifice of its material fortunes, if cause be necessary for the public good. The newspaper shall not be the ally of any special interest, but shall be fair and free and wholesome in its outlook on public affairs and public men." See "Top of the Week," *Newsweek,* September 30, 1963, 11.

[12] "A Tradition—A Legacy," *Newsweek,* August 19, 1963, 31.

[13] Graham spent a month traveling with her mother after Phil Graham's death, and went to work upon her return. She said, "I didn't really see myself as taking over the *Post,* but I did go to work right away. . . . I was encouraged by some of the executives and mainly by Frederick Beebe, whom Phil had made the

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chairman, who had been our corporate lawyer. He said, 'You have to come to work." I was happy to do that, because I cared a great deal about the company and about the *Post*. . . . It'd been part of my whole life, and I knew what had gone into making it as successful as it was, which was still competitive." See Lamb, *Booknotes Life Stories: Notable Biographers on the People Who Shaped America,* 337.

[14] See Lamb, *Booknotes Life Stories,* 337; and "A Discontented Man," 62.

[15] "A Tradition—A Legacy," 31.

[16] Graham, *Personal History,* 103.

[17] *Ibid.*, 91.

[18] Lamb, *Booknotes Life Stories,* 337.

[19] Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1963), 233.

[20] Pauline Tompkins, "Change and Challenge For the Educated Woman," *Saturday Review,* May 18, 1963, 69.

[21] The Commission on the Status of Women reported to President John F. Kennedy on October 11, 1963 that following research, it had "issued a directive to public employment offices in the States, instructing their staffs to refer applicants on the basis of qualifications regardless of sex and requesting employers using these offices to avoid job orders specifying sex except where genuinely warranted." The report added that "Action should be undertaken to encourage employers who do not have Government contracts to comply with the Federal policy of nondiscrimination." See "Report of President's Commission on the Status of Women," *Monthly Labor Review,* October 1963, 1166-1169.

[22] Tompkins, "Change and Challenge For the Educated Woman," 69.

[23] "Women: A New Femininity," *Time,* February 8, 1963, 37.

[24] Felsenthal quoted Philip Geyelin, former editor of *the Washington Post.* See Felsenthal, "Power, Privilege and the Post," 228.

[25] *Ibid.*, 236.

[26] "That *Vogue* magazine chose to run a gushing profile by her friend Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in its January 1967 issue was, undoubtedly, a direct result of the ball." See *Ibid.*, 254.

[27] See Winzola McLendon and Scottie Smith, "Don't Quote Me," (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc.), 1970, 163; and Karl Meyer, a long-time *Post* editorialist, said "the ball was a milestone in Kay's transition from shy widow—she described herself at the time as living like a monk—to international powerhouse." See Felsenthal, "Power, Privilege and the Post," 254.

[28] "The power behind the Post," *Business Week,* May 27, 1967, 158-164.

[29] "The President [Johnson] has ordered that all government agencies scour their personnel files, find capable women, and promote them. . . . This Presidential concern with womanpower spotlights the place of women in the working world today." It was interesting to note however, that the subtitle of the article was "Teacher, Nurse, or Music Maker . . . today's woman has a wide world of careers to choose from," implying that women should choose a traditionally feminine career. See "Careers and Women," *Senior Scholastic,* November 11, 1964, 22; and Maurine Beasley and Sheila Gibbons, *Women in Media,* 109.

[30] "The power behind the Post," 159.

[31] *Ibid.*, 164.

[32] *Ibid.*, 160.

[33] "Women," *Time,* 37.

[34] Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "Katharine Graham: New Power in the American Press," *Vogue,* January 11, 1967, 108.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] David Halberstam, *The Powers That Be* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 584.

[37] Martin Mayer, "The Lady As Publisher," *Harper's Monthly*, December 1968, 90-100.

[38] *Ibid.*, 90.

[39] *Ibid.*, 91.

[40] *Ibid.*, 96.

[41] *Ibid.*, 99.

[42] *Ibid.*, 100.

[43] "By 1969, the *Post* had reporters and editors who had never met, much less been charmed by, Phil Graham. It had women who thought of Kay Graham as the most powerful woman in publishing, as the role model rather than some cast-off casualty of a husband's philandering." See Felsenthal, *Power Privilege and the Post*, 284; and Halberstam, *The Powers That Be,* 584.

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[44] See Susanna McBee, "Katharine Graham and How She Grew," *McCall's,* September 1971, 131; and Jane Howard, "Katharine Graham: The Power That Didn't Corrupt," *Ms.*, October 1974, 47.
[45] McBee, "Katharine Graham and How She Grew," 77.
[46] *Ibid.*, 79.
[47] *Ibid.*, 132.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] McLendon and Smith, *Don't Quote Me,* 166.
[51] McBee, "Katharine Graham and How She Grew," 133.
[52] See Maurine Beasley and Sheila Gibbons, *Women in Media,* 122; and Howard, "Katharine Graham," 48.
[53] Jean Stafford, "Katharine Graham," *Vogue,* December 1973, 205.
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] "Kay Graham, Manager," *Forbes,* July 15, 1974, 30-31.
[56] "Cover Woman," *New Yorker,* September 23, 1974, 32-33.
[57] *Ibid.*, 33.
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] *Ibid.*, 39.
[60] Howard, "Katharine Graham," cover.
[61] *Ibid.*, 50.
[62] "The Education of Katharine Graham," *Dun's Review and Modern Industry,* June 1975, 67.
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] "An Organization Woman remakes the Post," *Business Week,* September 29, 1975, 43-48.
[65] "The Right to Manage," *Time,* December 29, 1975, 66.

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Building Resentment:
How the Alabama Press Prepared the Ground for *New York Times v. Sullivan*

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For presentation to the History Division, AEJMC
Annual Conference, Mimi, FL
August 2002

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Abstract: The landmark *New York Times v. Sullivan* (1964) decision, which gave the American press vital protections against libel suits from public officials, was the Supreme Court's reaction to the extreme punishment that an Alabama judge and jury laid upon the *Times*. This paper looks at the way the Alabama press helped build resentment against the kind of attention the *Times* was bringing to racial tensions in the late fifties and in 1960, when the *Sullivan* suit was brought. It examines the crusade of Grover C. Hall, Jr., editor of the *Montgomery Advertiser*, against what he perceived as the hypocrisy of the Northern press that flocked to cover Montgomery during the bus boycott of 1955-56 but gave little attention to racial problems back home. The political advertisement in the *Times* that triggered the *Sullivan* case worked to provoke that resentment intensely.

In 1964, the Supreme Court's unanimous *New York Times v. Sullivan* decision ushered in a new age of press freedom by erecting a high wall against libel suits from public officials. The case is regarded as a Magna Carta of American journalism, sanctifying in law for the first time the nation's foundational commitment to public debate that is "uninhibited, robust, and wide-open."[1] It invoked the principles of James Madison and Thomas Jefferson for the 1960s and beyond. Anthony Lewis's 1991 book about the case, *Make No Law*, places it in the context of that history, detailing Justice William Brennan's carefully negotiated and inspired drafting of an opinion that rings in the "grand style" of new law.[2] Justice Arthur Goldberg's concurring opinion said the Court was "writing upon a clean slate."[3] The ruling is generally seen as a milestone in First Amendment theory, and for good reason. It established a balance between public discourse and private reputation that has determined the press's power – and some of its problems -- ever since.[4]

But the case must also be located in another important historical narrative. This is the story of the South's political resistance to the dismantling of Jim Crow laws. The *Sullivan* case emerged out of resentments and evasions that hardened across the Deep South in the wake of another landmark case from ten years earlier. The unanimous 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision overturned compulsory segregation by finding that separate public schools stigmatized black children, thereby making segregated schools inherently unequal in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.[5] The reaction in the seventeen Southern states with school segregation laws was quiet at first, in part because the Court imposed no deadlines. Its delayed implementation decree of May 31, 1955 referred the matter to federal District Courts, which were instructed to consider "local conditions."[6] By early 1956, a fierce resistance had seized much of the Deep South. One historian described this massive resistance as something like panic striking much of the region.[7]

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[1] New York Times v. Sullivan, 254 (1964), 270.

[2] Anthony Lewis, *Make No Law: the Sullivan Case and the First Amendment*, 1st ed. (New York: Random House, 1991), 155.

[3] New York Times v. Sullivan, 254 (1964), 299.

[4] Lewis, 153-163; 200-18.

The *Sullivan* case arose out of a full-page advertisement that ran in the *Times* on March 29, 1960, sponsored by The Committee to Defend Martin Luther King and the Struggle for Freedom in the South. Under the fund-raising plea were the names of sixty-five prominent members of this committee -- entertainers, actors, black leaders, and liberal crusaders. The ad recounted incidents of arrests and bombings in recent years against King, who was then facing perjury charges related to a personal income tax filing. The ad also described the rapid spread of the student sit-in movement and the violent attempts by authorities to stop or slow this movement. It took its headline, "Heed Their Rising Voices," from a recent *New York Times* editorial, which it quoted: "The growing movement of peaceful mass demonstrations by Negroes is something new in the South. Something understandable . . .Let Congress heed their rising voices." [8] Montgomery County Commissioner L.B. Sullivan, who was responsible for the local police force but not named in the ad, sued for $500,000, citing a number of factual errors in the text. He also named as defendants four prominent black Alabama preachers whose names appeared as endorsers, below that of the sixty-five sponsors. The two other Montgomery County commissioners also sued, as did Governor John Patterson. Two weeks after the ad appeared, the *Times* ran a two-part series describing Birmingham as a seething caldron of racial tensions about to explode. Seven officials in Birmingham and in a suburb filed additional libel suits against the *Times* over those articles. The accumulated damages against the *Times* exceeded $5 million, while another $1.7 million suit was filed against CBS for a report it did on the disputes with the *Times* in Montgomery and Birmingham.[9]

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[5] Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 483 (1954), 491, 495.

[6] Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 294 (1955), 299.

[7] C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 154-55.

[8] Full-page advertisement, *New York Times*, 29 March 1960, p. 25.

Five years earlier, Montgomery, Ala., was the site of a particularly intense clash that turned out to foreshadow the entire civil rights movement. Rosa Parks, a local black worker, was arrested on Dec. 1, 1955, for refusing to yield a forward seat on a crowded Montgomery bus to a white passenger, in violation of local and state ordinances. Organized by their pastors into an *ad hoc* Montgomery Improvement Association, black citizens carried out a bus boycott whose scope and success surprised black and white leaders alike. The boycott lasted more than a year, devastated the bus company, drew both sides into court cases that went as high as the U.S. Supreme Court, and introduced the world to a new black leader – the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. [10]

About ninety miles to the north, less obvious racial tensions were crystallizing in Birmingham. The commercial elite of this industrial city, sensitive to projecting an image of economic efficiency, had in 1951 created an interracial committee that took mildly progressive steps toward desegregating public services over the next five years. But with the rise of racial tensions in the South, the atmosphere in Birmingham turned sour. Business leaders dissolved the interracial committee, silencing black-white dialogue and most voices of moderation.[11] A crude and sometimes violent trend grew in the shadows of Birmingham. Eugene "Bull" Connor, a violence-prone police commissioner whom the civic-commercial elite had humiliated into not running for reelection in 1953, returned to office in 1957 with a race-baiting campaign.[12] Asa (Ace) Carter, a country-raised radio announcer who taunted Alabama's patrician elite, led a violent and anti-Semitic branch of the white Citizens' Council that challenged the more "respectable" tactics of rival Citizens' Councils. On April 10, 1956, members of Carter's group assaulted singer Nat "King" Cole while he performed to an all-white audience in Birmingham.[13] It was the beginning of a period of subterranean violence that included the attempted bombings of houses and synagogues, the beating of Freedom Riders in 1961, and a notorious church bombing that killed four black girls in 1963.[14]

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[9] Lewis, 11-14, 151; Bruce L. Ottley, John Bruce Lewis; and Younghee Jin Ottley, "New York Times V. Sullivan: A Retrospective Examination," *DePaul Law Review* 33 (Summer, 1984): 741-81, 751.

[10] Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), 128-205; Martin Luther King, *Stride Toward Freedom; the Montgomery Story* (New York: Harper, 1958), 43-174.

These developments in Montgomery and Birmingham helped plow the bitter ground for *Sullivan* and for a parallel libel suit against the *Times* filed by Birmingham-area officials. This paper examines the part played by opinion pages in daily newspapers in Montgomery and Birmingham during this prelude from 1955 to 1960. In particular, it looks at how the editor of the *Montgomery Advertiser* developed a case that reporters coming into Alabama to report on racial tensions were prone to journalistic errors and moral hypocrisy. The elderly local judge who would handle the *Sullivan* case was given space on the *Advertiser*'s opinion page to criticize the federal judiciary and the Northern press. The *New York Times* would face this judge, face the *Advertiser's* editor as a hostile witness in the case, and face a jury drawn from the readers who had been entertained by that editor's relentless taunts of the outside press coverage of Montgomery. Meanwhile, the tendency of Birmingham's power structure to project peace and order, a tendency echoed through the local opinion pages of these years, would eventually collide with a *New York Times* report by Harrison E. Salisbury that compared the city to Johannesburg, which at the time seemed on the verge of a race war. The report ran two weeks after the "Heed Their Rising Voices" ad. Libel actions against it became part of the growing legal assault connected to *Sullivan*.

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[11] Elizabeth Jacoway, David R. Colburn, and William Henry Chafe, *Southern Businessmen and Desegregation* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 174-80.

[12] Michael J. Klarman, "How Brown Changes Race Relations: The Backlash Thesis," *Journal of American History* 81 (June, 1994): 81-118, 106.

[13] Neil R. McMillen, *The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1954-64* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 51-55.

[14] Branch, 793-802, 437-444, 889-96.

Literature Review

Other writers have sought to put the *Sullivan* cases in their civil-rights framework. In a twenty-year retrospective on *Sullivan*, three co-authors argued in the *DePaul Law Review* that the cases must be understood in the context of the civil rights movement, the news media, and white Alabama's campaign of massive resistance. The authors of the retrospective suggest that contextualizing the lawsuits helps explain the procedural history of the case and some of the deeper motivations of the parties involved. But beyond citing pre-trial publicity and other newspaper records from the case record, the article does not explore the particular resentments that Alabama editors had been cultivating for years. Indeed, the authors offer little interpretation of the facts they delineate.[15] Lewis, a veteran writer for the *Times*, does a vivid job of placing *Sullivan* in its civil rights and Southern grounding, emphasizing that the libel suits were at bottom an attempt to silence the national press coverage of racial tensions in the South. He gives rich background on the characters involved, such as the Alabama judge, Walter Burgwyn Jones, a devotee of the Lost Cause whose father had carried the flag of truce to General Grant at Appomattox. But for Lewis, the historical context is secondary to First Amendment theory and is not traced as a chronological narrative.[16]

As early as the 1920s, leading Southern newspaper editors had developed a liberal tradition of self-criticism and progressive advocacy. But rising black demands, particularly in the wake of the *Brown* decision, threw that liberal tradition into disarray. Some prominent heirs of Southern liberalism, such as Ralph McGill at *The Atlanta Constitution* and Harry Ashmore at *The Arkansas Gazette*, worked out a new, moderately sympathetic position on the black demands for equal rights.[17] Others seemed to turn reactionary, though it might be more accurate to say they stuck with the older liberalism as the world moved rapidly ahead.[18]

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[15] Ottley et al., 742-43.

[16] Lewis, 15-45.

[17] Three biographies of McGill and several memoirs by Ashmore trace the political evolution of these two Pulitzer Prize-winning moderates. Good accounts include Barbara Barksdale Clowse, *Ralph McGill: A Biography* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998) and Nathania K. Sawyer, "Harry S. Ashmore: On the Way to Everywhere" (paper presented at the AEJMC Annual Convention 2001, Washington D.C., 6-8 August 2001).

[18] For an intellectual history on the older generation of Southern liberal journalists, see John T. Kneebone, *Southern Liberal Journalists and the Issue of Race, 1920-1944* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985); for accounts of the transition from old-style liberalism to civil-rights era liberalism, see Alex Leidholdt, "Virginius Dabney and Lenoir Chambers: Two Southern Liberal Newspaper Editors Face Virginia's Massive Resistance to Public School Integration," *American Journalism* 15 (Fall, 1998): 35-68, and

This complex blend of paternalistic liberalism and postwar conservatism shaped editorial policies of the daily newspapers in Montgomery and in Birmingham. Alabama political leaders, pro-segregationist Citizens' Councils, and the local newspapers together created an atmosphere that made the *Times* a satisfying target once an opportunity presented itself. The law seemed to be on Alabama's side, for once.

The *Times* and Its Southern Coverage

The New York Times had deep and tangled roots in the South. Since its early days in 1852, when it sent landscaper Frederick Law Olmstead on a three-month trip through the antebellum Cotton Kingdom, the *Times* maintained an interest in reporting on the South as an enduring American problem worth its readers' moral attention.[19] The Ochs family, which bought the paper in 1896, had come from Tennessee, where Adolph Ochs had started the *Chattanooga Times*. It was to Chattanooga that Mississippi-bred editor Turner Catledge posted John Popham in 1947 to be the newspaper's first fulltime Southern correspondent. [20]

Popham, a natty Tidewater Virginian, drove countless miles around the postwar South developing sources and talking with professors about changes that were coming to the region. He was optimistic about those changes and even nudged them along, promoting regional agencies involved in education and race relations. [21] In the ten pages of coverage

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John Michael Matthews, "Virginius Dabney, John Temple Graves, and What Happened to Southern Liberalism," *Mississippi Quarterly* 45 (1992): 405-420.

[19] Edmund Wilson, *Patriotic Gore: Studies in the Literature of the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 220.

[20] Harrison E. Salisbury, *Without Fear or Favor: the New York Times and its Times* (New York: Times Books, 1980), 25, 352-358.

and background the *Times* ran the day after *Brown v. Board,* Popham led a state-by-state roundup with a page one story describing the South's reaction as considerably tempered. His take was characteristically upbeat:

> . . . The time lag allowed for carrying out the required transitions seemed to be the major factor in that reaction.
>
> Southern leaders of both races in political, educational and community service fields expressed comment that covered a wide range. Some spoke bitter words that verged on defiance.
>
> Others ranged from sharp disagreement to predictions of peaceful and successful adjustment in accord with the ruling.
>
> But underneath the surface of much of the comment, it was evident that many Southerners recognized that the decision had laid down the legal principle rejecting segregation in public education facilities.[22]

Less than two years later, Popham again led a massive team-effort in the South as ten veteran reporters filled an eight-page supplement on reaction to the desegregation decision in the seventeen Southern states. [23]

Even as he waged verbal warfare with "Yankee" newspapers at this time, *Montgomery Advertiser* editor Grover Cleveland Hall Jr. conceded drolly that the *Times* was keeping on top of the Southern story. "*The New York Times* gives some promise of coming to its senses," he wrote in an open letter challenging the *New York Post* editor to a Montgomery-New York journalist-exchange project. "[W]atch for its 'crash program' report on the South this month," he wrote, aware of the team of reporters that had fanned out across the region. Hall noted that "the old gray mare" ran an editorial acknowledging the "explosive issue of segregation in New York City's own schools" and in another the *Times* "droned": "Obviously, New Yorkers could more consistently argue for the rights of minority groups

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[21] Salisbury, *Without Fear or Favor*, 356.

[22] John N. Popham, "Reaction of South," *New York Times,* 18 May 1954, 1, 20.

[23] *New York Times*, 13 March 1956, 1, 1-8 (S).

elsewhere if such rights were more completely secure here." This was Hall's sardonic style of complimenting *The New York Times.*[24]

Times coverage of the South changed over the next two years, for two reasons. One was that the desegregation story was turning more vicious. Voluntary accommodation of *Brown* had come to school districts in the border states, then halted. The NAACP was pushing court-ordered desegregation in the cities, while politicians and white opinion were digging in for long-term trench warfare.[25] Little Rock's bayonets and bullies would be the story in the fall of 1957. The other reason was that the *Times* would replace Popham in 1957 with Claude Sitton, a Georgia-raised reporter with wire service experience and a tougher approach than Popham's.

Sitton reported eye-witness accounts of the brutality and bigotry displayed in encounters across the South between black activists and white authorities. Being where things happened was the only way to report the story at this time, he recalled recently. "You couldn't trust anybody," Sitton said. "You could go to two or three sides, but unless you were there and saw the action, you were sort of out of it." Southern newspaper reporters often covered civil rights "off the top of their heads," he said. [26] Indeed, compared to the *Times'* coverage, most daily papers barely covered the story at all, much less thoroughly or objectively. [27]

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[24] "Dear Mr. Wechsler," *Montgomery Advertiser,* 11 May 1956. All citations from Alabama newspapers are from Facts on Film, the microfilmed library of civil rights news clippings from the Southern Education Reporting Service, Nashville, Tenn.

[25] Southern Education Reporting Service, *With All Deliberate Speed: Segregation-Desegregation in Southern Schools* (New York: Harper, 1957), 204.

[26] Claude Sitton, interviewed by author, 3 December 2001, by telephone, Oxford, Ga.

When Catledge sent Popham to cover the South, the *Times* wanted a roving ambassador, Sitton said recently. It was a role Popham played well, from the doorway of Brennan's restaurant in New Orleans to the tense sidewalks outside Central High in Little Rock. Popham had close relationships with movers and shakers from the Governor's office in Florida to county courthouses in Tennessee.[28] Sitton could not have been more different, wrote *Times*man Harrison Salisbury in one of his several memoirs. "In place of Popham's flow of Tidewater talk Sitton was flinty. He spoke no more than necessary. . . He was always running, to catch a plane, to get to the scene of a riot, to get to the nearest telephone, to beat out a story on his typewriter, sometimes to save his life." [29] Prior to Sullivan's libel trial, the plaintiff's lawyers sharply questioned Sitton at a deposition in Atlanta. They wanted to know how news judgments were made at the *Times* on a distant state like Alabama. By what standards does the *Times* decide that one news figure is important enough to merit a photograph, but not another? Who makes story decisions?

> Q: Who selects them?
> A: Sometimes I do, sometimes the *Times* does.
> Q: In other words, sometimes you're sent into these various states on special assignment from the New York office and other times –
> A: It's sort of a case of mutual agreement. Some stories there's no question we should cover. Other stories, I confer with the desk in New York and after talking it over, we reach a mutual decision on it. [30]

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[27] David R. Davies, "An Industry in Transition: Major Trends in American Daily Newspapers, 1945-1965" (Ph.D., University of Alabama, 1997). See chapter 6. Davies's findings, which have wide agreement, are that coverage was weak because most news operations had no black journalists, Southern editors were little aware or interested in the perspectives of black readers, and deep societal change is hard to see unless it is represented as an event. Effective national civil rights legislation came about only after coverage of the dramatic clashes between protesters and police between 1960-65 in the South. As one observer has said, before *Brown*, the victimization of the American Negro was a plight, not a news story. Carolyn Martindale, *The White Press and Black America* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986), 34.

[28] Sitton, interview.

[29] Salisbury, *Without Fear or Favor: the New York Times and its Times*, 362.

[30] *New York Times v. Sullivan*, 376 U.S. 254 (1964), Record, deposition of Claude Sitton, 3 June 1960, Atlanta, p. 1867.

To colleague Anthony Lewis, Sitton's work during these years represented a rare heroic moment in American journalism. This was the real target that the Alabama plaintiffs wanted to muzzle, not the advertisement, wrote Lewis. "American journalism, for all its inadequacies, its shortness of attention span, can rise to moments of historic change, and this was one."[31]

Salisbury, with experience covering international conflicts for the *Times*, went South to help cover the extraordinary new phenomenon of the black student sit-ins in early 1960. In April, he checked into the old Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham, which he had chosen to investigate as representative of the South at this time of crisis.[32] The timing was not good for Birmingham, or for the *Times*. Down the highway in Montgomery, Editor Hall had just typed out a stem-winder editorial condemning the March 29 advertisement. Salisbury brought his experience from totalitarian countries with him, imagining scenes from Stalinist Moscow.[33] Another image that Salisbury blurred with Birmingham was South Africa. Although Salisbury had not covered developments in South Africa, that nation was in the news as it spiraled into racial crisis while Salisbury was in Birmingham. A surprisingly strong protest against pass-cards by South Africa's black majority had spooked police in Sharpeville, outside Johannesburg, into gunning down sixty-nine unarmed protestors. Subsequent riots through South Africa were reported on the front page of the *New York Times* the day the advertisement appeared. [34] "Some Negroes have nicknamed Birmingham the Johannesburg of America," the first of Salisbury's page one series said. " 'The difference between Johannesburg and Birmingham,' said a Negro who came South recently from the Middle West, 'is that here they have not yet opened fire with the tanks and big guns.'" [35]

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[31] Lewis, 36.

[32] Harrison E. Salisbury, *A Time of Change: a Reporter's Tales of our Time* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 44-49.

[33] Salisbury, *A Time of Change*, 49-50.

The civic-commercial elite was stunned by Salisbury's stories. The worst nightmare of the city boosters, since they could not image the widespread black protests that were coming, was such negative publicity in the newspaper read by America's top investors. The editorial chief of the *Birmingham News* assigned a team of reporters to find factual errors in the stories. They found only minor misstatements.[36] Still, the alleged defamation was enough to draw seven more libel suits, in addition to the four filed in Montgomery. The additional suits were filed by officials of Birmingham and nearby Bessemar.[37] "It was pretty feverish," Sitton said of the Salisbury series. "As soon as I saw that I knew we were in trouble." [38]

Montgomery Advertiser's Crusade Against Carpetbagger Press

Since the nation's beginning, the moral judgments of the North upon the South over racial oppression have annoyed typical Southerners. The more nimble Southern writers learned to make sport of the North's share of guilt in the slave trade and bigotry. Whatever sins inhered in the Southern soul, the Yankee accuser was usually open to the counter-charge of hypocrisy.

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[34] "South Africa: The Sharpeville Massacre," *Time*, 4 April 1960, 18-19; "Riots Flare Anew in South Africa; 15 Believed Dead," *New York Times*, 29 March 1960, 1.

[35] Salisbury, "Fear and Hatred Grip Birmingham," *New York Times*, 12 April 1960, 1, 28.

[36] Diane McWhorter, *Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama: The Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001), 184.

[37] Ottley, "A *New York Times v. Sullivan* Retrospective," 741-81, especially 751-52.

[38] Sitton interview.

Montgomery Advertiser Editor Grover C. Hall Jr. was a master at playing that card. A hundred years before *Brown v. Board*, Hall noted, Yankee abolitionists flouted Court decisions that favored the South. Ever since John Brown took civil disobedience to bloody extremes and claimed he did so by God's authority, this "little matter of mistaken identity continues to plague relations between North and South." [39] Hall updated the theme of the North's double-standard. "They don't have segregation in New York City," he wrote. "They just send the children to different schools." [40] On another day, he suggested playfully that, with so many Northern reporters coming South to report on race problems, a Southern newspaper ought to send a reporter North with the same mission – ideally, a black reporter. Hall's taunts reached Northern newspapers, which sometimes pleaded guilty as charged. The North "is in no position to look down its collective nose at the South on racial discrimination," the *New London Day*, in Connecticut, editorialized. Hall reprinted the editorial.[41]

In early 1956, as the Montgomery bus boycott held firm, news organizations from around the world dispatched some of their best reporters to cover the story. Coming to the capital city were representatives of *Time, Life, Jet, Ebony, Nation, New York Times, New York Journal-American, New York Post, New York Herald-Tribune, Minneapolis Star & Tribune, Manchester Guardian, London Observer, London Times, Pravda, Tass, CBS, NBC,* Associated Press, United Press, International News Service, and Reuters. Hall saw most of them in his newsroom. He ran a frisky commentary making fun of this parade of journalists touring the "benighted" South. "For the most part these tourists have come here with pre-conceived notions of the South seemingly derived from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* or abolitionist literature they found in an old trunk." He suggested to one black reporter from *Look* magazine that riding a boycotted bus, to investigate whether black thugs were enforcing the boycott, would be sound journalism. The challenge was declined. Hall praised at least one reporter, Robert S. Bird of the *New York Herald Tribune*. Something of an early New Journalist in his breezy writing style, Bird's weeks of listening to locals talk had convinced him, according to Hall, that the practical obstacles to desegregation might be insurmountable. *The Montgomery Advertiser* ran a photo of Bird in the local newsroom, feet on a desk, phone at his ear, "educating his editors" in New York.[42]

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[39] "An Old Northern Custom," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 15 August 1955.

[40] "Dixie a Bad Example," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 12 November 1955.

[41] "The North Has Racial Discrimination, Too," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 31 October 1955.

It is ironic that Hall fed community resentments that laid a foundation for the *Sullivan* libel suit. Hall himself was not bitter or resentful by nature. He was an affable Alabamian who wrote and dressed with style. Given to dapper suits with a rose in the lapel, Hall was described by one black reporter as being the equal of Martin Luther King, Jr., intellectually and sartorially – "the two best-dressed men in Montgomery." [43] Hall's writing style was cuttingly flamboyant in homage to H.L. Mencken, whom he idolized. [44]

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[42] "The N.Y. Herald Tribune's Enlightenment," *Montgomery Advertiser*, Feb. 26, 1956. Bird's report of Feb. 27, 1956, did indeed sensitively interpret the psychology of a white population incapable of retreating from rigid tradition. But he also described black aspirations that were unstoppable -- organized by Gandhian tactics the grew stronger in response to police crackdowns and swelling with an emotional religiosity that most white citizens did not see but that "overwhelms newspapermen well-hardened to mass meeting techniques." His conclusion was that "something has to give" because in a racial standoff, "waiting is dangerous." "Frustration in the Deep South; Whites Cling to Rigid Tradition As Negroes See Victory Ahead," *New York Herald-Tribune*, Feb. 27, 1956.

[43] Kathleen A. Hauke, *Ted Poston: Pioneer American Journalist* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 138. Also, Judy Wagnon, former Advertiser employee whose master's thesis was on Hall, in telephone interview with author, Montgomery, 4 December 2001.

[44] Ray Jenkins, former *Alabama Journal* city editor, in telephone interview with author, 4 December 2001.

In earlier times, Hall was a card-carrying civil libertarian.[45] A feisty, independent editor, he would attack the segregationist Citizens' Councils and the group's local leader, state Senator Samuel M. Engelhardt, as well as the master of Alabama's massive resistance, Gov. John Patterson. He even tangled with Commissioner Sullivan.[46] Patterson and Sullivan, of course, would later sue the *New York Times* for libel over an advertisement that they would not have known about had not Hall raged about it in print. Hall would become a witness for Sullivan. During the fifties, he supported continued segregation for bland, practical reasons. He seemed vaguely indifferent to the racial ideology that obsessed more conservative Southern editors. "But he became fixed and obsessed with what he considered the hypocrisy of the North sending reporters down and ignoring the problem in their own backyards," recalled Ray Jenkins, who was city editor of the *Advertiser*'s sister afternoon paper, the *Alabama Journal*, a few years later.[47]

Hall stepped up his crusade against this perceived hypocrisy by sending an open letter to the liberal *New York Post*, proposing that *Post* columnist Murray Kempton guide him through a week of seeing New York's race problems face to face. Hall had been a local guide in Montgomery for Kempton and the two had hatched this plan. James Wechsler, the *Post* editor, wrote back, saying he had already planned to assign an investigation of racial discrimination in New York. He invited Hall to come to New York, use the *Post*'s facilities, and work with Ted Poston, a black reporter who would be doing the investigation. Poston "has covered the problem of race relations in New York for many years and has registered many distinguished achievements in that field," Wechsler said. Hall responded that he wanted to do the project with Kempton, since they had planned it and had a personal relationship. The proposed reporting venture ended there, although Hall later provided Poston with lavish assistance when Poston came to Montgomery for several weeks of reporting.[48]

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[45] Jenkins interview.

[46] Lewis, 10.

[47] Jenkins interview.

Hall by then was onto an even grander plan for exposing Northern hypocrisy. The *Advertiser* would launch a series, lasting as long as it needed to be, reporting news of racial discrimination, black crime, black-white friction, and related news from all parts of the nation outside of the South. The Montgomery paper would scoop other papers in their own territory, making them squirm journalistically – and morally. The running title would be the biblical "Tell It Not in Gath, Publish It Not in the Streets of Askelon," a reference from II Samuel, 1:30 to David's order not to let the Philistines know of King Saul's death, lest the enemy gloat.

The series, numbered by Roman numerals, ran on the editorial page for weeks in the spring of 1956. The last, late installment the following February topped out at numeral XXXII. The reports covered a movie theater in Canton, Ohio, boycotted by blacks after a black man had been asked to leave the white section; a Chicago housing project where 150 police were on long-term assignment to protect new black residents from attack; a Detroit suburb with vigilant policies to ensure that only whites move in; white students from the University of Wisconsin who showed up at the *Advertiser*'s office at the end of a Florida vacation to explain their opposition to interracial dating; a hoax of a bomb threat sent to a Long Island college with an anti-black note. The installments were typically based on a single long-distance phone call, tendentious questions, and unsurprising answers. For example, unable to reach Michigan Governor G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams, the writer grilled his press secretary. "Q. Don't you agree that there is a valid comparison between certain conditions in Alabama and in Michigan? A. No, sir. We recognize up here that the racial problem is not confined to Alabama or any other particular place in the country. I think it's a problem that you have in a sharper degree than we have, but we all have it." [49] The *Advertsier* began interspersing these installments with news reports originally appearing outside the South about racial discrimination or tensions, with the running headline of "Published in Askelon."

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[48] "Dear Mr. Wechsler," "Dear Mr. Hall," "Dear Mr. Wechsler," *Montgomery Advertiser,* 11 March 1956; "New Negro Report Fans Hall-Wechsler 'Feud'," *Editor & Publisher,* 16 June 1956, 72.

The series brought the *Advertiser* attention around the country. The *Richmond Times-Dispatch*'s moderately conservative editor Virginius Dabney wrote a column on one installment.[50] George S. Schuyler, the black editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, appreciated the exposure of Northern hypocrisy:

> Whatever its editorial motives may be, that excellent newspaper, *The Montgomery Advertiser*, deserves applause for exposing the Northern (and Eastern and Western) hypocrisy, and impaling Yankee sham on the poignard [French for "dagger"] of ridicule in a series of articles by staff member Tom Johnson. I hope *The Advertiser* publishers imitate the sanctimonious *New York Times* and publish a special supplement on Brother Johnson's findings for nationwide distribution . . . As one who was born, reared and live in the Northeast (and have been everywhere in the U.S.), I can attest to the accuracy of *The Montgomery Advertiser*'s series.[51]

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[49] "Publish It Not in the Streets of Askelon – XVIII," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 19 April 1956.

[50] "Cast Out The Beam, You Yankees," reprinted in *Montgomery Advertiser*, 3 April 1956.

[51] "Published It Not in the Streets of Askelon – IV," reprinted in *Montgomery Advertiser*, 12 May 1956.

Hall gave a speech in New York on the theme, pointing out that only once in 125 years had the *New York Times* printed a picture of a black bride in its society section. [52] Montgomery readers enjoyed seeing the Yankee press get its comeuppance. The series was not the sort of journalism that would win a Pulitzer Prize, as the editor's father, Grover C. Hall, Sr., had in 1928.[53] His father, who wore a holstered pistol to work for protection, had won the award for an editorial crusade in the *Advertiser* against local gangsterism, floggings, and racial and religious intolerance.[54] Still, "Tell It Not in Gath" had "greatly enhanced [the younger] Hall's prestige with the *Advertiser* when newspapers were important," Jenkins said. [55]

Judge Jones Joins the Chorus

Hall gave space on the editorial page for an occasional column by Judge Walter B. Jones, the elderly circuit judge of Montgomery County who would try the *Sullivan* case. In a July 1960 pre-trial hearing and in the three-day trial in November 1960, Jones would rule in favor of the plaintiffs and against the *Times* consistently. In his final instructions to the jury members, he would tell them that they should assume that the advertisement was defamatory, that is, it injured the reputation of the persons described. He also said in charging the jury that under Alabama law, such defamatory statements were presumed to be false and they were presumed without proof to cause injury. The judge's instructions, followed by the all-white jury returning a full damage award in two hours and twenty minutes, figured in the complaints that the *Times* brought to the U.S. Supreme Court on appeal.[56]

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[52] Edward P. Morgan, ABC commentary, reprinted in *Montgomery Advertiser*, 13 May 1956.

[53] Daniel Webster Hollis, *An Alabama Newspaper Tradition: Grover C. Hall and the Hall Family* (University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1983), 108-09. The series was nominated for a Pulitzer in 1957, the year *Tuscaloosa News* editor Buford Boone won a Pulitzer for editorials condemning the violence against the attempted integration of the University of Alabama. Hall did not disguise his hope that the series would win a Pulitzer. It did win a National Headliner Award.

[54] Pulitzer Prize website, http://www.pulitzer.org//; Hauke, *Ted Poston: Pioneer American Journalist*. 175.

[55] Jenkins interview.

The judge, like Hall, did not come to this controversy without some personal history. Three years earlier, Jones had written one column in the *Advertiser* condemning the role of partisan politics in the federal judiciary throughout U.S. history. [57] In another column he picked up the theme of Northern hypocrisy. He quoted a long letter to *Time* magazine from a centenarian lawyer and "Southern gentleman of character" who was canceling his subscription because of the magazine's "racial prejudice towards the Southern white race." Jones apparently shared this gentleman's viewpoint. He called it an outrageous injustice that high-circulation magazines constantly misrepresent the South, especially on the issue of race relations. He continued:

> The attitude of these weeklies is that nothing good can come out of the South. They never see the bad things which daily happen on their own doorsteps. They conveniently ignore these things and never publish them, but let some unhappy event happen in the South and the large circulation weeklies are after the people of the South like the bloodhounds after Little Eva [in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*]. [58]

The Alabama attorney for the *Times* in the *Sullivan* case, T. Eric Embry, said years later that he believed Hall and some others met in Jones's office and concocted all of the libel suits. Lewis, who reported this suspicion in his book, noted that it is too late to find any evidence of such a meeting. [59] Nevertheless, from the columns by Hall and columns by Jones from years earlier, it is apparent that the two men shared and publicized a feeling of resentment about what they considered the lying Yankee press.

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[56] Lewis, 26-33.

[57] "Off the Bench," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 23 September 1957.

[58] "Off the Bench," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 27 May 27 1957.

[59] Lewis, 26.

Piling On

When the advertisement ran March 29, 1960, Hall became a vital link in the chain of events that led to the lawsuit. L. B. Sullivan would not have known about the supposed damage to his reputation had he not seen the editorial Hall published on April 7. Jenkins had noticed the ad first, in a subscription copy of the *Times* that came into his newsroom several days late. Only 394 copies of the *Times* were distributed in the entire state of Alabama at the time. Jenkins typed out a story that appeared in the afternoon *Alabama Journal* on April 5. His story noted one misstatement of fact and another statement that could not be verified. When Hall read Jenkins' story, he worked up a lather of indignation about the ad. In his first editorial on it, Hall complained of the "crude slanders against Montgomery." "Lies, lies, lies," he wrote.[60] Later editorials elaborated on his sense of insult. "The Commonwealth of Alabama with its three million people has been painfully and savagely injured by *The New York Times*," he wrote on April 17, after the Salisbury series ran. "It is not inflation of grievance to say that *The New York Times* is misleading the United States and much of the civilized world." A month later, he seemed to approve of the chilling effect the controversy was having on the Northern press. "The *Advertiser* has no doubt that the recent checkmating of *The Times* in Alabama will impose a restraint upon other publications which have hitherto printed about the South what was supposed to be." Hall's reaction seemed disproportionate to the factual errors in the ad and to Salisbury's interpretation of Birmingham, a city that Hall admitted was "raw, like any industrial metropolis, and . . .likewise given to violence." [61] These editorials drew their heat from the much larger volcanic caverns of resentment Hall had cultivated over the years, in him and in his community. The resentment would take shape, very quickly, in the form of huge libel suits filed in the Montgomery County courthouse.

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[60] Lewis, 9

Within a day of Hall's first editorial, Alabama Attorney General MacDonald Gallion was investigating the facts in the ad and the legal questions around possible libel suit. He said he would make a recommendation to Governor John Patterson. "We are sick and tired of warped and slanted attacks on Alabama and the South and it is particularly reprehensible to be the subject of this lie attack," Gallion said in Birmingham.[62] The same day, Commissioner Sullivan sent crisp letters by registered mail to the *Times* and to each of the four black ministers of Alabama whose names appeared in the ad as additional endorsement. The wording throughout Sullivan's letters – ". . . I further demand that you publish in as prominent and as public a manner as the foregoing false and defamatory material contained in the foregoing publication, a full and fair retraction of the entire and defamatory matter. . ." – is boilerplate legalese, indicating he had consulted an attorney about a lawsuit. The letters may have been cranked out in a hurry; the date on all of them was typed as March 8, instead of April 8. [63]

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[61] "The Abolitionist Hellmouths," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 17 April 1960; and "Fall-Out From Ad Error," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 22 May 1960.

[62] "Gallion Weighs Legal Action Against 'King Ad' Sponsors," *Montgomery Advertiser*, April 8, 1960.

[63] *New York Times*, Record, p. 1962-63, etc.

Birmingham and the Salisbury Series

While Hall was creatively building his case against the North and its coverage, the two daily papers in Birmingham took a quiet, hand wringing position for calm and good order. The smaller morning paper, the *Birmingham Post-Herald*, was the home of John Temple Graves II, a syndicated columnist with a formal style, political philosophy, and family bloodline going back to the old plantation South. A reform-minded Southern liberal in the 1920s and 30s, Graves had grown increasingly conservative in reaction to the industrializing South and the growing militancy of black leaders. By the 1950s, he was among the most reactionary of the old-line Southern liberals. [64] For example, he defended Alabama Attorney General John Patterson in his bid for governor in 1958 against charges that Patterson had close ties to the Klan. Graves did not deny the charges, merely their significance. Compared to the thugs who were jailed as Klan members in earlier decades, he wrote, the support given Patterson was inconsequential, being from "a thin and scattered Klan." [65]

Editor Vincent Townsend, a city power broker, had tightly controlled the *Birmingham News* since the Newhouse chain bought the paper in 1955. As local racial tensions worsened over the next five years, Townsend had virtually banned the subject from the paper as news and as a topic for editorials. [66] The newspaper's position was that desegregation should not be pushed too hard since most Southerners were unhappy with the idea. "Whatever may be sentiment and practice in some other areas," the *News* opined in 1957, "traditions and convictions have deeply and strongly opposed application of the decision in Southern communities and states." Its comments on racism in the North were far more muted than the *Advertiser's*, but consistent with Hall's view. A *Life* magazine article on discrimination in the North presented no surprises, the *News* wrote. Human reactions in the North and South are about the same, which is "the point Southerners have been striving to get across to Easterners and Northerners."[67]

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[64] Matthews, 406-07, 416.

[65] John Temple Graves, *Birmingham Post-Herald*, 15 June 1958.

[66] McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 183-84.

The bland picture of race relations that the newspapers and civic leaders of Birmingham tried to wallpaper over the city in the late fifties, as mentioned earlier, was abruptly wrenched in 1960. The black student sit-in movement flared out of Greensboro, N.C., into as many Southern cities had a black campus. Politely breaking segregation laws by sitting at lunch counters in coats and ties and dresses – provoking violence only to meet it with non-violence – the effrontery of the thing baffled and challenged the South. [68] The expulsion from school of participating black students in Montgomery was a large part of what set off the events described in the ad that supposedly libeled Sullivan. Salisbury described the effect on Birmingham this way:

> It is not accidental that the Negro sit-in movement protesting lunch-counter segregation has only lightly touched brooding Birmingham. But even those light touches have sent convulsive tremors through the delicately balanced power structure of the community.
>
> The reaction has been new manifestations of fear, force and terror punctuated by striking acts of courage.[69]

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[67] "Limits of Compulsion Given Emphasis In Racial Tensions," *Birmingham News*, 25 August 1957; and "National Look At Negro Life In the North," *Birmingham News*, 12 March 1957.

[68] Salisbury, *A Time of Change*, 45.

[69] Salisbury, "Fear And Hatred Grip Birmingham," *New York Times*, 12 April 1960, p. 1.

If the sit-in movement did not send convulsive tremors through Birmingham, Salisbury's articles did. Salisbury evoked the state terrorism of South African Prime Minister Henrik Verwoerd and Nazi Germany's Adolph Hitler. "Every channel of communication, every medium of mutual interest, every reasoned approach, every inch of middle ground has been fragmented by the emotional dynamite of racism, reinforced by the whip, the razor, the gun, the bomb, the torch, the club, the knife, the mob, the police and many branches of the state's apparatus."[70]

Graves, noting that Salisbury came from the "most South-hating" of the states, Minnesota, wrote in his column that Harriet Beecher Stowe lived again in the pages of the *New York Times.* [71]

Concluding Ironies

The high court's *Sullivan* decision established that public officials in America could no longer collect libel damages unless they are defamed by conscious or reckless lies – the "actual malice" standard. The ruling has been the scaffolding of press privilege ever since. When it was decided in 1964, in the thick of the Civil Rights years, its immediate effect was to remove the shackles that restrained coverage of the black protest movement. Officials throughout the South, cynically adopting the strategy of Sullivan, Governor Patterson, and the Birmingham-area commissioners, had brought nearly $300 million additional in libel actions against such coverage. If *Sullivan* had not provided its broad protections, CBS, for one, would not have continued shining a light on the South.[72] The dramatic clash of non-violent protests and violent reaction – in Birmingham in 1963 and in the Selma-to-Montgomery march in 1965 – might not have had the news impact that led to congressional passage of the Civil Rights laws of 1964 and 1965.[73]

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[70] Salisbury, 12 April 1960, 28.

[71] Salisbury, *A Time of Change,* 47.

One of the ironies of the *Sullivan* case is that it might not have reached the Supreme Court or inspired the Court to rule as it did were it not for the extremely high damage awards granted by the Alabama jury and pending for other Alabama officials. Alabama went overboard. The attorney for Sullivan said he had suggested asking for only $100,000, but was overruled. N. Roland Nachman, Jr., the plaintiff's attorney, believed he ultimately lost the case because of "extrinsic circumstances," namely the oversized damages, the proliferation of additional libel suits, and "the unfortunate social and political climate." [74] It is the argument of this paper that the resentment of outside press coverage, combined with the intensification of events and the hard coverage by Sitton in the *Times*, contributed significantly to that social and political climate.

Another irony of the case is that the resentment against the outside press was nurtured by leading editors of the Alabama press itself. Southern editors like Hall and Graves struggled with radically changed circumstances. They had come from a Southern tradition of liberal journalism that opposed the Klan, political bosses, cultural backwardness, and violence against blacks. Both had fathers who stood tall in that tradition, Grover C. Hall, Sr., at the *Montgomery Advertiser* and John Temple Graves with the Hearst papers in Atlanta and

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[72] Lewis, 36, 244.

[73] The importance of the news media in linking *Brown v. Board,* massive resistance, the non-violent protest movement, and the ultimate success of civil rights laws in Congress is delineated in Klarman, "Backlash Thesis": 81-118.

[74] Lewis, 161,

Palm Beach.[75] But modern times altered the racial equations, and the second generation of Southern liberal editors fragmented over the change.[76] Thus, Hall ended up playing an ironic role in the *Sullivan* decision by railing against the "lies" at the heart of the case. Perhaps the crowning irony is that this was the same editor who in 1956 warned against the chilling effect of the South's racial turmoil. He noticed that the voices of blacks and whites alike were zippered out of fear. "Free speech is, as is so often said, a quite dangerous thing," Hall wrote. "But free speech is not half so dangerous as the repression of free speech." [77] This sounds like it could be Justice Brennan in his famous 1964 ruling for the *New York Times*.

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[75] Kneebone, *Southern Liberal Journalists and the Issue of Race, 1920-1944*, 16, 28, 25.

[76] See Kneebone, Leidholdt, and Matthews.

[77] "Saying 'Shut Up' in Angry Times, *Montgomery Advertiser*, Nov. 25, 1956.

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Running Head: SCHOOLHOUSE ROCK

History

Conjunction Junction, What Was Your Function?
The Use of *Schoolhouse Rock* to Quiet Critics of Children's Television

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Running Head: SCHOOLHOUSE ROCK

Conjunction Junction, What Was Your Function?
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150-word Abstract: This paper examines the debate surrounding advertising and the purpose of children's television in the early 1970s, focusing upon the history surrounding the "series-as-commercial" *Schoolhouse Rock*. The series was produced and aired in response to concerns over children's television in an era where such concern prompted networks to hire social scientists and educators to advise them on the production of children's television content. In this climate, two advertising executives approached ABC Children's Television VP Michael Eisner with the idea to create essentially three-minute music videos aimed at teaching multiplication. Through examination of both the governmental records, as well as the recollections of those involved in the production of *Schoolhouse Rock*, I found a duality in the motives of the those responsible for airing *Schoolhouse Rock*, and I ultimately call into question the lack of study concerning the educational value of what was deemed a "win-win" situation for children's educational television.

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Conjunction Junction, What Was Your Function?
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Justification and Literature Review

As a child in the mid-1970's, I was an unwitting subject of a grand para-scientific effort by social scientists who petitioned the F.C.C. to alter the public airwaves for the greater good of children (Palmer & McDowell, 1979; Stipp, Hill-Scott, Dorr, 1987). Being a somewhat precocious child, I watched the credits of my favorite programs, and though I didn't understand the significance of such things at the time, I noticed that there were an awful lot of people with Ph.D.'s and Ed.D.'s involved with the programs I watched on Saturday morning commercial television. I had seen the same kinds of letters behind the names of people who worked on *Sesame Street* and the *Electric Company*, shows that were about learning, but I wasn't sure what to make of the fact that *Fat Albert and Cosby Kids*'s Bill Cosby also had an Ed.D. behind his name, or that his show always had some type of humanitarian messages (McNeil, 1991).

What prompted this sudden interest in children's television programming content wasn't so much an altruistic vision by the three major networks, but fear of restrictive guidelines the Federal Communication Commission was attempting to craft (Federal Register, 1971 & 1974). These new rules were themselves a response, in part, to the conclusions found in *Television and Social Behavior: A Technical Report to the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior*, as edited by Rubinstein, Comstock and Murray (1972). Among the suggested rules produced as a result of the Surgeon General's study, the FCC crafted a set of guidelines known as the *Children's Television Programs: Report and Policy Statement* in 1974, requiring all licensees to "insure that a 'clear separation' be maintained between program content and commercial messages" (FCC, p. 215). Network executives began to see the writing on the blackboard, so to speak, and fearing regulation filters (Hermann & Chomskey, 1988), individually began their own efforts to self-improve and self-regulate ahead of FCC dictates.

In the middle of this regulatory climate, ABC produced and aired a series of three-minute long animated vignettes between their Saturday morning fare—providing that 'clear separation' mandated by the F.C.C. Beginning in 1973, *Schoolhouse Rock* began its Saturday morning run with "Multiplication Rock," a series that aimed to teach the multiplication tables through animated music videos (Yohe & Newall, 1996; IMDB, 2000). Despite an apparent lack of depth in the material presented, the formula worked: the series garnered four Emmys as Best Children's Instructional Series between 1975 and 1980 (McNeil, 1991) and remains a pop culture reference for an entire generation of 'thirtysomethings' who remember watching the series as children (Yohe & Newall, 1996). The cultural and educational impact of *Schoolhouse Rock*, however, coupled with the political and social pressures that created the climate under which it could be produced and aired, has never fully been explored.

In trying to get a better idea as to what occurred in the mid-1970's with respect to children's television in general, and the climate that allowed *Schoolhouse Rock* to air specifically from a critical viewpoint, an examination of the available literature will include narrative discourse theory, research on the regulatory climate of the time, the creation of *Schoolhouse Rock*, research concerning children and television, and the aftermath of the regulatory era years of 1970-1981.

Historiography and Narrative Theory

In looking at the topic of ABC's *Schoolhouse Rock* "series-as-commercial" of the mid-1970's through the lens of historical omission, it is first necessary to review this subcategory of narrative discourse theory. Hayden White (1990) describes the differences between discourse and narrative as a subjectivity of discourse that is given by pretense, explicit or implicit, of an "ego" who can be defined "only as the person who maintains the discourse" (p. 3), while the objectivity of narrative is defined by the absence of all references to a narrator, so that "events seem to tell themselves" (p. 3). This leads to histiography, a methodology that attempts to get at as true a story or the discovery as possible, in an attempt to record the "real story" within the context of historical records (White, 1990). Histiography gives us three forms of historical record: 1) Annals, or a list of events in sequence, with no significance given to any event (i.e., taking the garbage out is given the same "significance" as World War II starting); 2) The Chronicle, a chronological sequence that features story elements but lacks analysis, and; 3) History proper, in which the narrativity of history must handle judiciously the evidence, honor the timeline without giving cause/event, and there must be a an order of meaning that doesn't occur with mere sequence.

"It is this need or impulse," White continues, "to rank events with respect to their significance for the culture or group that is writing its own history that makes a narrative representation of real events possible" (p. 10). When this occurs, however, historical omission or refusal becomes possible, and myths become stories of history (White, 1990).

The notion of story leads to Orton (1995), who points out that there are two dueling definitions of "story." The first theory, Story Feature, defines a story as a communication that comprises a goal directed behavior(s) to resolve problems coupled with a series of causal changes, and descriptions that explicate the following sequential elements: 1) Information about setting; 2) An initiating event; 3) The protagonist's internal response; 4) The protagonist's external response; 5) A consequence of outcome, and; 6) The protagonist's reaction to outcome.

The second theory, Structural-Affect Definition, defines stories where audience must place significance for communication to become a story, in which stories must have: 1) Audience-meaningful goals; 2) Audience-significant theme; 3) Audience empathy for the protagonist, and; 4) Suspense, curiosity and/or surprise for audience. Whereas a "story feature" story identifies story-structure characteristics to judge the story's quality, a Structural-Affect Definition story identifies how stories are structured to elicit affective response from its audience.

Elements of both of these sides of discourse can be found in the "win-win" story of the three-minute vignettes of the *Schoolhouse Rock* series. So what is missing? I began with a single question: Why did the ABC television network feel the need to educate children by repeating the "series-as-commercial" *Schoolhouse Rock* instead of producing series-length programming alternatives? This question is especially puzzling given the growing and concurrent use of social scientists and educators in the advisement of themes and story lines on commercial Saturday morning shows in the early 1970s (Stipp, Hill-Scott, Dorr, 1987).

Schoolhouse Rock and The Regulatory Era: 1970-1981

By the early 1970s, grassroots efforts and scholarly scrutiny of the impact of television on children began to draw the interest of both elected officials and federal regulators. Responding to the growing criticism of children's television, ABC Television asked the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) in January 1972 for a reduction in and a modification of commercial airtime during children's weekend television programs (Tucker & Saffelle, 1982; Kunkel, 1988; Kunkel & Roberts, 1991). This push, to phase in a reduction from 16 minutes of commercials to 11 minutes per hour (or, 8 minutes to 5 1/2 minutes per half hour) was opposed by CBS, and a 12 minute compromise was finally reached at the NAB (Tucker & Saffelle, 1982).

By early 1973, Ward, Reale, and Levinson's landmark paper, "Children's Perceptions, Explanations, and Judgements of Television Advertising: A Further Exploration," (1972) gave ammunition to the grassroots effort opposed to the perceived harm commercial television was inflicting upon the nation's children. These groups, in turn, used political pressure to prompt Senatorial hearings on the subject of federal regulations and children's television content (Tucker & Saffelle, 1982).

With growing political pressure, the Federal Communications Commission intervened where it had previously relied on self-regulation by the broadcast networks (Kunkel & Gantz, 1993). In its ruling on children's advertising policy in 1974, the F.C.C. recommended limits of 9.5 minutes of ad time on weekends and 12 minutes of ad time on weekdays, which closely mirrored the self-regulatory standards that had been recently adopted by the NAB (FCC, 1974; Kunkel & Gantz, 1993).

Research on Children, Advertising and Television

In their study of humor and children's educational television, Bryant, Hezel and Zillman (1979) argue that a mixture of education and amusement for instructional purposes is apparent. They concluded that teachers are limited by classroom settings, whereas television can blend elements, compress time and present messages to a fickle audience in new and appealing ways, and ABC's *Schoolhouse Rock* fits this entertaining educational model. However, this model also spurs further debate about the perceived divide between (educational) television and the classroom (Postman, 1987; Davis, 1993). Further complications occur when one analyzes and compares the brief-yet-accurate content of the *History Rock* series with the recommendations of cultural literacy advocate E. D. Hirsch (1988), who cries out for the simplification and reduction of history to trivial fact—another of television's perceived strong suits (Postman, 1987; Davis, 1993).

Much more difficulty exists in analyzing a series-as-commercial like *Schoolhouse Rock*, as much research has been done on the content of children's programming (Ward, Reale, & Levinson, 1972; Bryant, Hezel, & Zillman, 1979; Tucker & Saffelle, 1982; Postman, 1987; Schrag, 1991a; Davis, 1993; Kunkel & Gantz, 1993), but such research has been done on the social and educational impact of *program-length* shows.

Compounding the difficulty is the plethora of research that exists on the inability of young children to discern television programs from commercials, as young children tend to pay attention to both with equal attention (Palmer & McDowell, 1979; Nikken & Peeters, 1988; Schrag, 1991b; Kunkel & Gantz, 1993; Alexander & Morrison, 1995). While such attention to commercials seemingly lends support to the effectiveness of an educational series-as-commercial such as *Schoolhouse Rock*, and prompted socially-responsible imitators at other networks (Stipp, Hill-Scott, & Dorr, 1987; McNeil, 1991).

The Creation and Development of Schoolhouse Rock: 1972-1973

Concurrently (unconnected with this regulatory environment), Madison avenue advertising executive David McCall had noticed an interesting phenomenon in his eleven year old son: he could recite all of the Beatles and Rolling Stone songs he had heard on the radio, but had trouble remembering his multiplication tables (Yohe & Newall, 1996). McCall came up with the concept of marrying catchy music with educational material, and went on to help produce a record, *Three is a Magic Number* (Yohe & Newall, 1996). Deciding to set this music to animation, however, proved an even better idea. In their spare time, the advertising executives at McCall's company set up the groundwork for the *Schoolhouse Rock* "series-as commercial," eventually producing an educational sequence that covered four subject areas: Math, Grammar, History, and Science. At roughly three minutes per segment, the educational "series-as-commercial" was born. In total, the short segments of all four subject areas of the *Schoolhouse Rock* series provide roughly two hours in content (Yohe & Newall, 1996). With titles like *Three is a Magic Number*, *Conjunction Junction*, *The Shot Heard Round the World*, and *Interplanet Janet*, the producers brought together animators, folk and jazz singers and musicians, and educators to create the educational series-as-commericial (Yohe & Newall, 1996), as studies had shown that children had higher levels of attention while watching commercials (Alexander & Morrison, 1995).

Michael Eisner, the head of ABC's Children's Programming at the time (Yohe & Newall, 1996), recognized at the time that running these educational segments might help satiate the F.C.C.'s growing concern about the impact of commercials and violent content found during ABC's Saturday morning line up (LE's Schoolhouse Rock Site, 2000); however, several hurdles stood in the way.

First, the network lineup wasn't set up to accommodate three minute segments easily. Eisner's solution was to convince his primary content producers to cut out three minute segments for the *Schoolhouse Rock* series while ensuring the producers that the cut segments could be added back later for syndication purposes. They balked at first, but eventually complied (LE's Schoolhouse Rock Site, 2000).

The second hurdle was money. It was one thing to "educate" children, but giving up three minutes of air time every half hour would have amounted to commercial suicide. The series' producers came up with a solution: they managed to get one of their clients, General Foods, to underwrite the series—a "win-win" for everyone involved. ABC got to look good educating children, General Foods got their named attached to a beneficial children's educational project, and no one lost any money doing it (LE's Schoolhouse Rock Site, 2000).

A closer examination of both the regulatory climate and ABC's demand for reducing airtime partly explains Eisner's motivation for airing a series like *Schoolhouse Rock*. Keep in mind that by 1973, ABC was prepared for the reduced advertising revenue that any imposed (and requested!) F. C. C. reductions in available approved advertising time would bring via the underwritten nature of *Schoolhouse Rock* series. ABC would feel no financial impact whatsoever, and come out on top as a perceived leader in children's educational commercial television as well.

Deregulation and the Demise of Schoolhouse Rock: 1981-1990

By the time deregulation of children's television was implemented in the early 1980's (F.C.C., 1984; Tucker & Saffelle, 1982; Schrag, 1991a), ABC had given up on *Schoolhouse Rock* after twelve years in favor of showing segments featuring Menudo, and later Mary Lou Retton (Yohe & Newall, 1996). As federal regulators pulled back their controls during the Reagan era, toy makers began animation production companys to skirt both the F. C. C. and self-regulatory host-selling rules (Schrag, 1991b) through the creation of toy-driven shows like *The Transformers*, *Gobots*, and *G.I. Joe* (McNeil, 1991). As these shows took over, the availability of educational programming was reduced to the offerings found on PBS and cable television.

With the Reagan administration's efforts at deregulation across the board, the abandonment of the 1974 F.C.C. ruling that "the medium of television cannot live up to its potential of serving America's children unless individual broadcasters are genuinely committed to that task, and are willing—to a considerable extent—to put profit in second place and children in first" (p.11) spurred another round of debates and regulatory control efforts, culminating in the passage of The Children's Television Act of 1990 (Schrag, 1991b; FCC, 2002). A successor to *Schoolhouse Rock* was never created; however, ABC brought back the now vintage series to its Saturday morning lineup in the late 1990's (Yohe & Newall, 1996). Despite such longevity and popularity, no discernable and independent social scientific study has been performed to date to determine the series-as-commercial's effectiveness.

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Suppression of An Enemy Language During World War II
Prohibition of the Japanese-Language Speech and Expression in Japanese American Assembly Camps

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Suppression of An Enemy Language During World War II Prohibition of the Japanese-Language Speech and Expression in Japanese American Assembly Camps

Abstract

This article investigates in detail how the United States government prohibited the use of the Japanese "enemy" language at Japanese American "assembly centers" during World War II. Using the archival documents of governmental agencies concerned, this study demonstrates that assembly camp officials strictly barred the evacuees from using their native language and thereby curtailed their First Amendment rights. Specifically, it will examine the official camp regulations that affected Japanese-language communication and speech. It will next demonstrate that officials at local camps enforced these regulations rigidly and by doing so they intruded on almost every aspect of evacuees' First Amendment activities.

Suppression of An Enemy Language During World War II

Prohibition of the Japanese-Language Speech and Expression in Japanese American Assembly Camps

Takeya Mizuno, Bunkyo University

I. Introduction

Protection of basic rights for all people, especially the ones enumerated in the Bill of Rights, was one of the most publicized national goals of the United States during World War II. In his fireside chat on December 29, 1940, President Franklin D. Roosevelt declared that "[w]e must be the great arsenal of democracy." Next year on January 6, the President announced before Congress the famous "four essential human freedoms," putting the "freedom of speech and expression" first. On December 15, only a week after Pearl Harbor, the President reassured Americans as that his administration would do its best to preserve constitutional rights, saying that "we Americans know that the determination of this generation of our people to preserve liberty is as fixed and certain as the determination of that early generation of Americans to win it." What is more, he promised that these ideals were to be applied to all individuals living on the American soil, including aliens and citizens with "'foreign-sounding' names." As the President expressed in his January 2 message, "[w]e must not forget what we are defending: liberty, decency, justice."[1]

But at least one particular ethnic minority group did not get the benefit of the President's repeated promise: Japanese Americans. Following the President's Executive Order 9066 of February 19, 1942, more than 110,000 Japanese Americans on the West Coast were forcibly removed from their homes and thrown together into inland camps. About two-thirds of these individuals, nearly 70,000, were citizens of the United States by birthright.

They were "Nisei," literally the second generation born and raised in the United States. Among them, there was a distinct group called the "Kibei," American citizens who were educated in Japan. The others were foreign born, first generation "Issei." However, regardless of possession of citizenship or other individual qualifications, all these people of Japanese nationality and parentage were perceived as treacherous "enemy aliens" within a climate of fierce anti-Japanese hostility and were segregated into camps surrounded by barbed wire fences.[2]

The federal government's mass exclusion and incarceration policy severely abridged a number of constitutional freedoms of Japanese Americans. Yet no previous research has focused directly on how the policy affected their First Amendment freedoms of speech and expression, especially during the period from March to October 1942, when they were held in the temporary "assembly" camps. During this interim stage between mass expulsion from the West Coast and subsequent confinement to inland "relocation centers," Japanese evacuees were put under quasi-military control in short-term "assembly centers," which were established hastily on fairgrounds and racetracks along the West Coast. Even scholars who have probed this earliest assembly-camp phase, such as Noriko Shimada, admit that little is known about evacuees' experiences during this transitional period.[3]

One study has recently shed light on the condition of evacuees' First Amendment freedoms by examining the assembly camp authorities' censorship of English-language newspapers. However, there was another important aspect to the federal government's suppression of free speech and expression that the study did not explore, i.e. the prohibition of the written or spoken use of the *Japanese* language. The government's ban on the "enemy" language had a great impact on the lives of evacuees because Japanese was the first and only language for the great majority of the Japan-born Issei and Japan-educated Kibei. The Japanese language ban entailed a wide range of First Amendment activities such as publication newspapers, writing and reading of books, appreciation of literature, gathering of assemblies and organizations, religious worship, and enjoyment of festivals and entertainment events.[4]

This article attempts to fill this research gap by investigating in detail how the assembly camp authorities restricted the evacuees' use of their native tongue and hence their First Amendment rights of speech and self-expression. At first, this study will examine the official camp regulations and orders that limited the use of the Japanese language. It will next analyze the ways how local camp administrations enforced these regulations and orders. This monograph will conclude that by suppressing the Japanese language assembly camp officials intruded on almost every aspect of evacuees' First Amendment activities -- political, social, religious, cultural, and recreational.

The present article extensively uses archival documents of the federal and military agencies concerned. Diaries and notes of evacuees, their personal letters, correspondence with outside individuals and groups, memoirs, reports, interviews, and hearing testimonies are also utilized. Most of these primary sources are used here for the first time. The time frame ranges from March to October 1942, the period when the assembly camps were in operation.

II. Basic Facts About Assembly Camps and a Review of Previous Literature

There were 16 "assembly centers" altogether. The official definition of an assembly center was "[a] convenient gathering point, within the military area, where evacuees live temporarily while awaiting the opportunity for orderly, planned movement to a Relocation Center outside of the military area." Japanese-speaking evacuees called it "shu-go sho," meaning "gathering place" in English. The average length of stay was about 100 days. After this period, most evacuees were transferred to more permanent "relocation centers," which were administered by an independent civilian federal agency, the War Relocation Authority (WRA).[5]

The assembly camps were operated by the Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA), a branch of the Western Defense Command and Fourth Army (WDC). Although civilian officials took part in camp operations, military officials assumed the principal role in setting and enforcing basic policies and regulations. The WCCA was headed by a military director, Colonel Karl R. Bendetsen, who was delegated the power to administer assembly camps by the commanding officer of the WDC, General John DeWitt. Thus, assembly camps were governed under quasi-military rule. The Army established 13 of such staging areas in California (Fresno, Manzanar, Marysville, Merced, Pinedale, Pomona, Sacramento, Salinas, Santa Anita, Stockton, Tanforan, Tulare, and Turlock), and one in Arizona, (Mayer), Oregon (Portland), and Washington (Puyallup).[6]

In spite of the temporary nature of the assembly camps, the days spent there exerted a long-term influence on Japanese Americans. Experiences in this transitory phase implanted in their minds a first but determining and lasting impression of the federal government's wartime mass incarceration policy, which often determined their later actions and responses. The Community Analysis Section of the WRA was well aware of this, writing: "In order to gain a greater understanding of the attitudes and reactions of the evacuees as they came to the relocation centers, it is necessary to study the events and administration of each assembly center. The assembly centers represent the initial experiences of evacuation."[7]

But previous literature on the evacuees' lives in this crucial assembly-camp phase, let alone their First Amendment activities, is very scarce. Since Noriko Shimada in 1995 pointed out the lack of systematic study on this subject, no substantial progress has been made. Only recently, Takeya Mizuno has disclosed that evacuee newspapers were strictly censored. But his study dealt with only one side of the problem. Except for a few earliest issues, all assembly camp newspapers were written exclusively in English, the language which nearly one-third of camp inmates did not understand. In order to draw a more holistic picture of the state of Japanese evacuees' First Amendment freedoms within assembly camps, it is necessary to probe how camp officials restricted the use of the *Japanese* language.[8]

The rationale of this study also rests on an obvious but important fact that for the Japanese American community free communication in its old country's language was one of the most essential means to sustain its ethnic cohesiveness and identity. As the pioneering ethnic, immigrant press theorist Robert Park wrote, "mother tongue is the natural basis of human association and organization. ... [I]t is language and tradition, rather than political allegiance that unites the foreign populations."[9]

Park's thesis describes well the nature of the pre-war Japanese immigrant community. From the turn of the nineteenth century to the 1940s, most Japanese immigrants and their offspring on the West Coast were forced to live in highly condensed and closed circles of their own in the face of the deep-rooted racial prejudice and severe discriminations in the outside mainstream society. As the WRA's Community Analysis Section pointed out, "Rejection by the rest of the population increased a feeling of in-group solidarity, and Japanese communities often became close-knit and self-sufficient. Contact with people of another language is perhaps the most important single factor in learning that language. For many of the Issei this contact was hindered by the existence of these Japanese communities and the discrimination evidenced by the dominant group in the country." By virtue of this fact, when the war erupted and they were sent to the assembly camps, the overwhelming majority of the first generation Issei and many of their sons and daughters who had spent their youth in Japan could hardly communicate or express themselves freely in their host nation's language.[10]

III. Assembly Camp Regulations

In order to run assembly camps in an orderly manner, the WDC issued various orders and regulations, some of which directly encroached on evacuees' First Amendment freedoms. Probably the most formidable and far-reaching one was a ban on the use of the Japanese language. Due to this restriction, the great majority of the Japan-born Issei and Japan-educated Kibei as well as some other Nisei, who did not receive formal education in English, suddenly lost their only means of speech and self-expression.

From the very beginning, the WDC was determined to prohibit almost all kinds of readings and writing in the Japanese language. On April 12, 1942, Karl R. Bendetsen, the highest official of the WCCA, notified the Assistant Director of the WRA: "The policy of the Commanding General, Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, is to prohibit publication of Japanese language newspapers and periodicals. Unless the situation indicates the advisability of a change in policy, the stated policy will obtain in assembly and reception centers."[11]

Between late May and early June, the WDC drafted a set of "Center Regulations," which codified the above declaration as an official policy. By mid-June, these regulations were officially promulgated, and after some revisions and additions, the WDC distributed the final version on July 18. These regulations remained effective until all assembly camps closed in November. One provision expressly stated: "No news publications of any kind will be prepared or issued in the Japanese language in any Assembly Center ...." This of course meant that the WDC would scrupulously ban publication of Japanese-language newspapers, books, and magazines within assembly camps. A companion regulation directed: "Japanese print of any kind, such as newspapers, books, pamphlets, periodicals, or other literature ... are not authorized in the Center at any time ...." If any of these prohibited publications was found, it "[will be] declared contraband and will be seized by Assembly Center authorities."

The only exceptions were "approved religious books (Bibles and hymnals) and English-Japanese dictionaries." But it was not until June 26 that English-Japanese dictionaries were lifted from the contraband category.[12]

These same regulations were applied to almost all kinds of printed matter, including even administrative announcements. Another regulation declared: "Necessary fire, sanitation and police regulations may be printed in the Japanese language upon approval by this Headquarters. Proposed instructions will be submitted to [the WCCA] and necessary approval secured prior to posting in any assembly center." As a result, even the simplest signs such as "Men" and "Women" for public shower rooms needed to be translated and forwarded to the Civil Affairs Division of the WCCA headquarters in San Francisco. Other examples of such innocuous, mechanical translations included "No Loitering," "Do Not Waste Water," and "Worker Must Show Time Cards."[13]

The WDC formulated a separate set of language regulations for religious speech. One noticeable difference was that a relatively lighter restriction was imposed on the publication of information regarding "routine" religious services. According to the WDC, such "routine matters include notices of church services, prayer meetings, and activities of such nature." This regulation was applied equally to English-language religious groups.[14]

Nevertheless, non-routine religious books and publications containing information of more or less substantial value had to go through the same translation and screening process as other non-religious publications did. The above religious speech regulation read: "Any material intended for release in religious publications other than routine matters will be cleared by the Press Relations representative of the Center involved." Later, camp authorities made this rule even more stringent. On August 18, the WCCA Operations Section sent a supplemental instruction all Center Managers to "secure from the leaders of the various religious sects, now conducting services in your center, a list itemized as to author and title and with a brief description of the contents or actual copies thereof of all Japanese print religious publications .... These lists, or actual copies of the publications, will be submitted to this office for inspection, investigation and approval or disapproval."[15]

The WDC did exempt Japanese-language Bibles and hymnals from contraband confiscation, but not automatically. Like other books and publications, Japanese-language Bibles and hymnals had to be cleared by censors before use, although this particular censorship was executed at each local camp rather than at the central facility. At the Puyallup Assembly Center (Camp Harmony), Washington, for example, officials decided at the July 21 staff meeting that "Japanese-English and English-Japanese dictionaries, religious books, and hymnals will be returned to the owners after inspection and will be marked with an approval stamp."[16]

In addition to the deprivation of Japanese-language books, newspapers, and publications, camp administrators also forbade meetings in the Japanese language. One WDC camp regulation maintained: "All meetings within the center shall be conducted in the English language except [for certain religious gatherings] and adult classes in English and Civics, and in other cases where it is absolutely necessary for the proper administration and operation of the Center." Even when evacuees were exceptionally permitted to confer with each other in their own language, they were mandated to turn in English translations of the proceedings. "In the latter cases, a transcript of the proceedings will be prepared, translated and filed in the office of the Center Manager, a copy being furnished to the Interior Security Police." This regulation derived from the belief that Japanese was the language of a dangerous enemy nation and therefore its use must be suppressed by all means. "The use of a spoken Japanese language will be held to an absolutely minimum consistent with administrative necessity."[17]

Furthermore, in order to check if the above regulations were actually abided by, the WDC headquarters empowered officials at each local camp to attend and monitor evacuees' assemblies. One WDC regulation ruled that "a member of the Center Administra tive Staff will physically supervise any and all gatherings (meetings) held for any purpose. This does not mean that a member of the Center Administrative Staff must be present at all times, but it does mean that he will control and supervise such meetings by his physical presence to the extent that it is deemed necessary by the Center Manager." Internal police officers were also vested with authority to oversee evacuees' assemblies.[18]

In this regard, religious gatherings were no exception. The WDC ruled: "It will be the responsibility of the Center Manager ... to insure that such services are conducted properly and are not used as a vehicle to propaganda or incite the members of the Center." In pursuance, the Center Manager at each camp could attend, or have his staff attend, any church or congregation, and if it was felt that a questionable statement was made, the attending official(s) could at any time interfere with evacuees' spiritual activities. In addition, the WDC prohibited evacuee worshipers from pr acticing their faiths in Japanese, so that English-speaking Caucasian officials could supervise them properly. "Japanese will not be spoken in connection with religious services or activities except where the use of English prevents the congregation from comprehending the services. The use of Japanese in this respect will be only with the sanction of the Center Manager." Those who were most severely affected by this regulation were the Japanese-speaking Issei Buddhists.[19]

The arbitrary nature of camp regula tions was underlined by the creation of yet another regulation, by which assembly camp inmates were barred from discussing certain topics, no matter what language they chose to speak. It declared: "Meetings for the purpose of discussing the war or any international problem are not authorized." The gist of this regulation was that it gave no clear explanation for what "the war or any international problem" specifically meant. Due to this ambiguity, officials could enforce the regulation summarily to suppress any discussion and speech concerning whatever current events or ideas, political, social, religious and cultural.[20]

In the same way, the WDC was especially restrictive regarding expressions indicating or implying attachment to Japan or things Japanese. For example, as the April 29 birthday of the Japanese Emperor neared, all Assembly Center Managers received the following teletype directive from the WDC headquarters:

> The [WDC] Commanding General ... directs that precautions be taken that there be no display of Japanese nationalism, exhibition of Japanese flags or any speeches or groups singing in the Japanese language nor demonstrations of any kind whatsoever. Any unusual gatherings at centers particularly of adults should be closely observed and broken up as unobstrusively [sic] as possible. [all capitalized in original]

In essence, camp authorities tried to wipe out literally anything that in their mind might represent "Japanese-ness." Another regulation noted: "No streets or other objects, building, or sites will be named ... after any Japanese dignitary or notable."[21]

The assembly camp authorities' zero-tolerance approach to Japanese speech was also manifested in the following center regulation: "Songs of martial nature or in praise or worship of the Japanese nation, government, or Emperor shall not be played or sung in either English or Japanese in Assembly Centers. The letter as well as the intent of this regulation shall be fully complied with by individuals and groups." Obviously, this regulation, combined with other regulations and orders, could be used to suppress almost all kinds of First Amendment activities, not only political speech, but also social, religious, educational, and recreational speech, or even speech of purely personal nature.[22]

IV. Enforcement of Regulations at Local Assembly Camps

The WDC's "Center Regulations" were not lax, casual rules created simply for the sake of mere publicity, intimidation, or bureaucracy. These regulations, together with other supplemental orders and directives, had the same binding force as general laws in the outside did. One of the WDC regulations declared: "All criminal and civil laws, local, state and federal, are in full force and effect in all Assembly Centers. All of these laws and the following Assembly Center Regulations will be strictly enforced by the Interior Police. All violations of criminal laws or Center Regulations are to be promptly reported to the policemen on duty at the Interior Police Station."[23]

In pursuance, despite some minor differences of manners and degrees, the regulations set out by the WDC were enforced steadfastly by each local camp administration. The following example from the Merced Assembly Center, California, typifies the top-down system of law enforcement. When the WDC headquarters decided to prohibit any type of publication in Japanese, the Merced administration circulated the following reminder to all camp inmates: "The foregoing regulations and instructions will, of course, be strictly observed in this center. Police are instructed to take possession of any Japanese publications ...." Similar notices were issued at other local camps, too.[24]

Suppression of Publication and Reading of Japanese-Language Newspapers

The arbitrary nature of the assembly camp authorities' suppression of the Japanese language was well illustrated by the wholesale exclusion of Japanese-language newspapers and articles. In the earliest stage when the operational rules had not been established yet, a few assembly camp newspapers inadvertently printed a few articles in Japanese. For example, the Walerga Wasp at the Sacramento Assembly Center, California, published Japanese-language news stories at least twice, in the May 8 and 20 issues. The May 22 issue of the Portland Assembly Center's Evacuazette had a separate Japanese section called Eva Jiho. But the WCCA immediately suppressed them. On May 27, the WCCA Director Karl Bendetsen dispatched the following order to all Center Managers: "The fact that this could happen is striking evidence of the fact that apparently all of the papers are not sufficiently proof-read or that the center manager's staff did not have in mind the Commanding General's directive in the manner. ... The need for close and stricter supervision of center newspapers seems evident." Thereafter, no Japanese character appeared in any camp newspaper.[25]

Camp authorities also barred evacuees from subscribing to outside Japanese-language newspapers. The federal government's mass evacuation policy forced all West Coast Japanese-language newspapers to close down by the end of May 1942. But a few newspapers in Utah and Colorado such as the Utah Nippo, Rocky Nippon (later Rocky Shimpo), and Colorado Times (Kakushu Jiji) could continue business because the exclusion orders did not cover intermountain states. During the war, these newspapers were virtually the only "free" native language information sources for Japanese Americans. But the assembly camp authorities blockaded them by imposing postal censorship on the inmates. Censorship of mails was legitimized by the WDC's official regulation, which ruled: "Japanese print of any kind directed to evacuees and transmitted by U.S. mail will be turned over by Center postal authorities to the internal police at each Assembly Center for delivery to the evacuees." This empowered officials at each camp to open up, inspect, and intercept before delivery all Japanese-language letters, newspapers, and other printed matters addressed to evacuees. At the Tulare Assembly Center, California, for example, the administration confiscated copies of the Colorado Times from the incoming mails to evacuees.[26]

Although some copies still crept into camps, camp administrators made every effort to intercept them. In late May, one WCCA official considered the entrance of outside Japanese-language papers so problematic and proposed the WCCA Director that "the situation be investigated and that a list of authorized Japanese newspapers be prepared and furnished to the center managers and that all other Japanese newspapers be declared contraband." Officials at the Pomona Assembly Center, California, conducted searches of barracks and impounded copies of the Utah Nippo.[27]

By the same logic, camp authorities prevented evacuees from writing *for* these outside vernacular papers, too. In early May, for example, the Public Relations Director of the Santa Anita Assembly Center, California, reported to the WCCA headquarters that his camp was "faced with the problem of Japanese newspaper correspondents here at the Center sending releases through the mails." Because he "was instructed to withhold all such releases," reported he, the post office staff "extracted letters addressed to known newspapers. This provided a means of control."[28]

As a result, the Japanese-speaking evacuees tended to be left uninformed of the latest important news and events happening both inside and outside the camps. In his May 17 diary, Charles Kikuchi, an editor of the camp newspaper Tanforan Totalizer, wrote: "We are not getting any Japanese publications in camp so that even the Issei will be less exposed to the Japanese point of view. The only news they can get is from the newspaper (American), and the radio, which naturally still stress the American angle. Since short wave radios are not allowed, they can't receive any of the broadcasts from Japan." And in most cases, those English-language media were useless for the Japanese-reading populace. Regarding this, the Tulare Assembly Center's internal report noted: "Newspapers are coming into the Center in large number, but not many Issei can read them intelligently. It seems foolish to keep the Issei ignorant, when there is a good opportunity to improve their morale. If the news is censored in English, there is no reason why the same can't be done in Japanese."[29]

Confiscation of Japanese-Language Books

The assembly camp censors imposed a severe crack-down on Japanese-language books, too. An evacuee researcher Tamie Tsuchiyama was appalled when she found that officials of Santa Anita got rid of even non-political light reading material. Tsuchiyama depicted a case in which a classic Japanese novel, which obviously had no relation to Japanese nationalism or militarism, was confiscated:

> [T]he censor ... condemned Lady Murasaki's "Tales of Genji" because it contained "imperial notions." If the "Tales of Genji" written in the tenth century A.D. is to be considered subversive in twentieth century America I'm afraid that all literature pertaining to any phase of Japanese culture -- whether written in English or in Japanese must be condemned. [emphasis in original]

The Tales of Genji is a classic love-romance novel written by Shikibu Murasaki, who is to the Japanese as Shakespeare is to the British.[30]

Evacuees at other camps witnessed similar practices. Monica Sone at Puyallup, Washington, wrote in her 1953 memoir that her mother was ordered to submit her Japanese-language Bible together with the Manyoshu, the oldest collection of Japanese classical poems and verses compiled around the eighth century. Sone cited her mother as complaining : "A Bible. Pray tell me, what's so dangerous about it? [T]here isn't one subversive word in [the Manyoshu, either]." Sone wrote that her mother was forced to abandon a pocket-sized dictionary, too. Yoshio Abe, a Kibei novelist at Santa Anita, also wrote in his 1971 book: "Even if they were literary classics, books on science, or anti-war novels, they were prohibited, for fear that they contained slogans like 'Destroy the demonic Beasts, America and England!'"[31]

Lists of confiscated books at Santa Anita and Fresno, California, demonstrate how indiscriminately assembly camp officials seized books. Impounded titles ranged widely from child-rearing books such as Akachan Kara Ichinen Sei Made (From a Toddler to a First-Grader) to hobby books such as Atarashi Keito, Amimono No Shikata (A New Method of Wool Knitting) and Ikebana To Chanoyu Zenshu (All About Flower-Arrangement and Tea Ceremony), to books on English-language study such as Eigo Kaiwa Manabikata To Hanashikata (How to Learn and Speak English) and Kanatsuki Nichi Ei Kaiwa (Elementary Japanese-English Conversation), to books on family medication such as Katei Ryoho To Kango Ho (Methods of Family Medication and Nursing), to foreign literature such as Les Miserable, and, to Bibles and religious books such as Riso Teki Christian (An Ideal Christian).[32]

Such thorough and wanton suppression of Japanese-language literature and books hit evacuees hard. On August 11, one evacuee representative at Puyallup registered a direct grievance to the Camp Manager, urging him to relax the policy. "On behalf of a large number of evacuees who do not read English, I wish to request that the decision to place Japanese language literature in storage, perhaps for the duration, be reconsidered." The petitioner emphasized that the deprivation of Japanese-language readings was bringing about serious uneasiness and distress among the camp populace. "I am sure you understand the position of these evacuees who have no reading matter in the only language they understand. Naturally they are worried as to what they can do for spare time recreation in the relocation center." Such requests, however, were not considered seriously by the camp management.[33]

Stringent book censorship led to some painful episodes. One example is the case of Tadako Tamura, whose sick parents were deprived of medical books. On behalf of her mother and father stuck in bed, Tamura filed this emotional but eminently reasonable complaint to the Puyallup Center Manager:

> Can you please tell me if there is any reasons why medical books, that is, little pamphlets and booklets, containing simple instructions in First Aid, care of the common sickness and etc. printed in the Japanese language, which has, up to date, proved of invaluable aid to my parents who are unable to read the English language, should be considered under the list of "contrabands" [sic]?

Her letter also reveals that the camp management had disapproved her parents' medical books against the recommendation of the in-camp Board of Censorship.[34]

Although not many evacuees were brave enough like Tamura to challenge the Center Manager, the majority was certainly furious over such repressive book hunting. Some labeled it one form of fascism, even comparing with Nazi Germany. Tamotsu Shibutani and others at Tanforan accused that "the administration resorted to Hitler tactics to maintain control. ... The effect of all this on post-war reconstruction [of Japanese Americans] will no doubt be considerable." An anonymous newsletter published at Santa Anita reflected the same sentiment. The July 24 issue read:

> The Center regulation, banning all books written in Japanese, except Bibles, hymnals, and English-Japanese dictionaries, was received by the Center residents with dismay. It was a terrible blow on the morale of the Japanese-reading residents because the majority of them had selected what they considered "good" books and brought them over to the Centers. Some of them were very resentful, almost to the point of wishing to defy such an order. Politically minded Japanese Americans saw in it a milder form of the Nazi "burning of books."

The author of this newsletter added that the Nazi analogy was "perhaps, with a bit of exaggeration, but on a seemingly justifiable ground."[35]

Prohibition and Censorship of Japanese-Language Public Notices and Announcements

Besides newspapers and books, assembly camp officials outlawed the distribution of public notices and releases in the Japanese language. An exception was granted only when it was considered to serve the interest of the camp administration. But even in such a case, every information item had to be translated and submitted in advance for official authorization. On July 3, the Tanforan Center Manager Frank E. Davis promulgated the following order to all administrative staff and evacuees. "Any notice or program to be used in this Center for which Japanese translations are desired should be presented to the Center Manager in writing so that it may be forwarded to the Headquarters of the [WDC] for permission to use." Similarly, in a July 21 staff meeting, the Puyallup camp management decided to remind evacuees that "[a]ll announcements to be made in Japanese should be first handed in to the WCCA office for clearance prior to a meeting or information release." [36]

To translate every single item for a prior examination, however, necessitated a very cumbersome and time-consuming process. The translation requirement inevitably hampered speedy and timely dissemination of information. It not only slowed down the pace of news diffusion, but it also discouraged camp residents from publicizing necessary information in the first place. At Tanforan, concerned members of the evacuees' self-government body Executive Council once protested to the camp management that the current publicity system was creating great confusion, especially among the Japanese-speaking Issei. However, the Center Manager continued to insist that: "Whenever they feel that a thing needs a translation, they are going to get a translation." The Center Manager also argued that the shortage of information was an inevitable inconvenience because "[the WDC headquarters] don't have enough translators."[37]

The use of official bulletin boards was strictly regulated, too. Shibutani and others at Tanforan wrote:

> There is a regular bulletin board that sends out Information Bulletins. ... Everything that goes out in a bulletin is carefully censored by [the Center Manager] himself, and the Y.M.C.A. group had their mimeograph machine confiscated for putting out an announcement without permission. Actually there was nothing objectionable in the bulletin itself, but the idea that they had sent it out without permission was apparently repugnant to the administration.

In his May 14 diary, Charles Kikuchi decried the practice of bulletin board censorship: "Notice was issued today that no notice could be placed on any bulletin board without an official 'o.k.' Reason??"[38]

The Santa Anita administration restricted the public posting of posters and leaflets in a more formalistic way. On June 25, the Center Manager announced the "Administrative Notice No.12." From the beginning, its tone was warning and dictatorial. The preamble read: "It has come to the attention of the Center Management that an unsightly condition exists, caused by the indiscriminate posting of bulletins, notices, advertisements, posters, letters, etc., in prominent locations throughout the Santa Anita Assembly Center. Effective at once, this indiscriminate posting of bulletins, notices, etc., will be discontinued."[39]

The administrative notice then enumerated several restrictions as to the use of bulletin boards. Firstly, the camp management would establish official bulletin boards around the camp, and these would be the only boards that could be erected within the camp. Secondly, bulletins, notices, newsletters, and all other public information material must be placed on these designated boards all the time. Thirdly, all such information material must be translated, if the original was written in Japanese, and cleared by the Center Manager's office prior to posting. Japanese translations of English originals must be submitted to the WDC headquarters for an official inspection, too. Even after the Center Manager's approval was granted, lower officials in charge would assume the "responsibility to see that only official and approved bulletins and notices are placed on official bulletin boards." Finally, it reemphasized that "[b]ulletins in Japanese are prohibited" except when they were official translations authorized by the WDC.[40]

Suppression of Japanese Culture, Recreation, and Entertainment

The camp authorities' encroachment on Japanese speech also extended to cultural and recreational activities such as music, dancing, and plays. For example, the Fresno Assembly Center management on July 23 issued an administrative notice that commanded evacuees to submit "[a]ll Japanese phonograph records, whether instrument or vocal music or speeches," to the Internal Police Department. The purpose of obligating prior submission and censorship of phonograph records was to prevent such music, either through lyrics or melody, from being misused for professing pro-Japan or other subversive thoughts. Likewise, the Puyallup administration required evacuees to report beforehand which music records they would play in "Bon Odori."[41]

Bon Odori is a traditional Japanese folk dancing festival held in mid-summer to celebrate the Buddhist memorial day. This event was, and still is, very popular among the Japanese in the United States as well as in Japan. Looking at its mythological origin, as a WRA community analyst pointed out, Bon Odori "did have a religious aspect. Buddhists appear to behave at this time somewhat Christians do at Easter." Presumably it was this religious background that made assembly camp officials concerned.[42]

But Caucasian camp officials were so ignorant of, or indifferent to, the current Japanese culture that they overlooked an obvious but important fact about Bon Odori, that its original religious meaning to memorize the dead had been long obsolete. In modern and contemporary Japan, Bon dances have been held rather casually as seasonal entertainment events. This was even more so within the Japanese American community, where Buddhist congregations functioned more as open social forums than as exclusive religious circles. Indeed, Buddhist ceremonies such as Bon Odori were enjoyed widely as secular entertainment by common community members, too. As the aforementioned WRA analyst pointed out, "[t]o many the [Bon] festival was diversion and nothing else." This could have been noticed easily by anyone who used the least bit of careful observation. But most administrators at assembly camps could not see, or simply ignored, it and formalistically imposed censorship on Bon Odori music. Puyallup officials directed organizers of the Bon festival to turn in "translations of [dancing songs] also."[43]

Ironically but expectedly, censors found only that Bon songs were nothing but pure entertainment. For example, the translation of "Yu Gure," meaning "Twilight" in English, read:

> When it is twilight, we never get tired [of] looking at the Sumida River [in downtown Tokyo].
> The scenery of a sail passing on the Sumida River and having as its background, Mt. Machichichi [sic] with the moon, is the best. Oh! Birds are warbling. There are many famous places in the Capitol where the birds sing eternally.

This folk song was played at a summer Bon concert at the Portland Assembly Center in mid-August. Titles of other translated dancing songs included "Four Seasons in Kyo," "Maple Bridge," and "Spring Rain." None of them contained, or even implied, political agitation or propaganda.[44]

The Santa Anita administration also trespassed in the areas of cultural and recreational activities such as Bon Odori. On June 29, the Santa Anita Center Manager commanded to evacuees: "On orders from San Francisco, evacuees are directed to deliver immediately to Room 055, underneath the grandstand ..., all phonograph records which are

Japanese martial music, either vocal or instrumental, and all recorded speeches, plays, poems, stories, or other recordings in Japanese dialect." On this, Tamie Tsuchiyama wrote: "Apparently this is one of the first steps toward the prohibition of all evidences of Japanese culture in camp."[45]

Plays and other entertainment shows were not exempted from the censorship, either. At the Pomona Assembly Center, evacuees in charge of community recreation were ordered to obtain an official approval to hold "talent shows." In addition, evacuee actors were forced to speak lines only in English. No wonder such shows had little entertainment value for the Japanese-speaking audience. "Too many older folks could not understand the dialogue and the officials then lifted the ban but still carefully censored through interpreters every word that was spoken," wrote Estelle Ishigo. Japanese-language shows were disapproved at Tanforan, too. An administrative memorandum dated July 24 stated: "The program of recreation and entertainments for the residents have been conducted in English, mainly for the Japanese-American citizens at various times. Programs of similar nature for the Nationals of Japan to be conducted in Japanese have been denied on the grounds that they might contain subversive meanings."[46]

A handful of Japanese-language cultural programs were permitted exceptionally; however, these rare cases were sanctioned only when such programs were deemed useful and beneficial for the camp administration. For example, in response to questions as to what kind of Japanese dances, folk songs, or skits were permissible, the Chairman of Recreational Directors at Tanforan explained: "These programs are strictly of such nature that they do not contain any materials for propaganda or subversive thoughts and the only purpose will be to entertain the Nationals of Japan for the building of morale and spirit." By the same token, a few Japanese entertainment programs were approved because they were thought to facilitate the Americanization or de-Japanization of evacuees.[47]

Even when the use of Japanese was allowed, evacuees still had to withstand some extra constraints. In his ruling, the Tanforan Chairman proclaimed: "Programs ... will be within the time limit of two hours, and the interpretations of the programs, as well as the gist of the plays or songs involved, will be translated and submitted to [the administration], and once it is approved ..., there will be no substitution or addition to such programs."[48]

In some extreme cases, officials acted like megalomaniacs. Camp administrators at Puyallup once ordered evacuees to turn in "Karuta cards," or traditional Japanese game cards, and autograph books for security inspection. On this nearly fanatic intrusiveness, a Nisei artist commented:

> I did not enter any of the political activities in Puyallup. I thought that the WCCA men in camp were the dumbest saps I ever ran across. ... They must have been either bums or political grafters before. They [sic] guy at the head of the art department and the newspaper was the most hated man in camp because he was so dumb that he censored everything and he was always suspecting the Japanese of being up to some subversive activities. He would even spy on us when we had our bull sessions at night in the art department in order to get some evidence, but all he ever heard was talk about girls or something like that.[49]

Similarly, in one case at Tanforan, even school children were investigated for conspiracy. When junior high school students composed a school song and chose red and white for their school colors, an FBI agent immediately intervened. The agent suspected that the song was worded so as to spread subversive ideas and that the red-white contrast represented the Japanese rising-sun flag. However, the FBI agent assigned to review the case found no evidence for such allegations.[50]

Finally, teaching of the Japanese language was absolutely prohibited. "All classroom activities would be conducted in English to counteract the Japanese spoken at home," declared a policy planner of elementary education at Tanforan. While minimizing the presence of the Japanese language and culture, Americanization programs were highly encouraged at assembly camp schools. "A definite form of Americanization policy," proclaimed the same policy maker, must be conducted eagerly "[t]o counteract the bitterness in the minds of the youngsters." Specifically, he proposed that school children be taught to pledge exclusive loyalty to "their country," the United States. "Community-wide children's programs [must be] based on patriotic themes such as Flag Day, Independence Day, etc." It was taken for granted that English was the only appropriate language to teach patriotism.[51]

V. Conclusion

The federal government's assembly camp operations were characterized by the systematic and thorough suppression of the Japanese language. Fearing that the unfamiliar "enemy" language might be misused for propaganda, agitation, and conspiracy, or simply disliking its foreign-ness, camp authorities prohibited Japanese American evacuees from reading, writing, publishing, discussing, worshipping, or even singing and playing in their own native tongue. Such a sweeping ban on Japanese hindered a number of evacuees from exercising their First Amendment liberties in any meaningful ways.

In particular, it terribly embarrassed and demoralized the first generation Issei immigrants, who were born and educated in Japan and hence understood little English. It also bothered many Kibei, the second-generation Nisei who spend their adolescent years in Japan. Forced to forsake their primary and only language, the great majority of the Issei and Kibei suddenly lost their most essential means to express themselves and communicate with each other. But the U.S.-educated Nisei were no exception in that they were unable to say, write, or read what they really wanted to. Within assembly camps, almost all forms of speech and expression -- books, newspapers, bulletin boards, meetings, cultural events, and even recreational activities -- were subjected to censorship. Except for those in Hawaii where martial law was declared, Japanese Americans in assembly camps underwent arguably one of the most severe and thorough types of curtailment of First Amendment freedoms in the United States during World War II.[52]

The camp authorities' abrogation of First Amendment freedoms via suppression of the Japanese language is requisite for more complete understanding of the federal government's mass evacuation policy and its effect on Japanese Americans' lives. However, no serious effort has been made to investigate the state of freedom of speech and expression within assembly camps. As one Japanese scholar noted, research on the assembly camp period itself is lacking. No wonder that no distinctive body of knowledge has been made available on the assembly camp authorities' Japanese language policy. The present monograph contributes to filling this important research gap in Japanese American historiography.[53]

But this study can also offer significant implications which relate to some other research topics. First, this study may help trace how Japanese Americans adjusted themselves following their stay in the assembly camps to the next stage of mass encampment. The assembly camps were short-term stopping points, and for the great majority this transitory phase was only a preface of the forced "relocation" that lasted until the end of the war. After assembly camps, evacuees were taken to more permanent "relocation centers" administered by the WRA. For evacuees, however, these two periods were not isolated experiences. "The experiences of many evacuees [at assembly camps] contributed to and reinforced their sense of bitterness, hopelessness, and despair -- attitudes they would take with them to the relocation centers," wrote one historian. Another scholar pointed out: "The experiences of assembly center life color the thinking of every evacuee. ... The disorganizing effects of this period, the long lapse without any regular school system, the affronts to self -respect, form part of the personality structure of every [evacuee]." With this in mind, the present study could contribute to the larger historical task to chronicle the whole process of Japanese Americans' undergoing of wartime mass evacuation and incarceration.[54]

In connection with the above, this study may also offer some insights into the question of how and why the WRA adopted certain policies to govern relocation camps. Certainly, some high-ranking officials of the WRA were disturbed by the authoritarian manner of the WDC and WCCA's assembly camp operations. For example, speaking of the WDC regulation that prohibited the freedom of assembly, the Solicitor of the WRA commented: "In my judgment, there is very serious doubt as to the authority of the W.C.C.A. to issue such a regulation. The courts would probably hold that this regulation denies to the evacuees within [assembly camps] their constitutional right of assembly and their right of free speech."[55]

When some evacuees at Santa Anita were arrested for holding a mass meeting in the Japanese language, the WRA even prepared a letter to protest the action. The WRA was ready to argue that it was not only unnecessary but unwise to arrest and prosecute evacuees for merely speaking their own native language. The letter was drafted but not actually submitted because the charges against the evacuees were dropped by the Federal District Court. Yet this episode strongly indicates that the WRA regarded the assembly camp authorities' infringement of First Amendment freedoms as going too far. This critical attitude might in turn have affected the policy of the WRA itself toward the evacuees' use of Japanese and other forms of First Amendment activities in the "relocation centers." This question should be examined further by future research.[56]

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[32]. Paul Taylor, Project Director, Jerome Relocation Center, to D. S. Myer, Director, WRA, March 6, 1943, RG 210, Entry 16, Box 159, File 22,222, NA.

[33]. Unsigned anonymous letter to J. J. McGovern, Center Manager, Puyallup Assembly Center, August 11, 1942, James Sakamoto Papers, Box 10, Manuscripts and University Archives Division, University of Washington Libraries. This letter is available online at www.lib.washington.edu/exhibits/harmony/exhibit/default.htm.

[34]. Tadako Tamura, Puyallup Assembly Center, to J. J. McGovern, Center Manager, n.d., RG 338, Entry 27A, Box 9, Reel 240, NA.

[35]. Tamotsu Shibutani, Haruo Najima, and Tomika Shibutani, "The First Month at the Tanforan Assembly Center for Japanese Evacuees: A Preliminary Report," n.d., p.19, Reel 16, File B8.31, Bancroft, UCB; "The Evacuee Speaks: Newsletter," July 24, 1942, p.3, RG 210, Entry 16, Box 156, File 22,220#3, NA.

36. Frank E. Davis, Center Manager, Tanforan Assembly Center, "Information Bulletin No. 20: The Use of the Printed Japanese Language and Japanese Speech," July 3, 1942, Reel 14, File B3.04, Bancroft, UCB; Puyallup Assembly Center, "Minutes of Headquarters Staff Meeting," July 21, 1942, National Japanese American Historical Society (NJAHS), Evacuation Internment Collection, Box 1, File: Albert Ichihara #4.

37. "Minutes of the Executive Council with Mr. Davis," July 22, 1942, pp.1, 2, Reel 14, File B4.10, Bancroft, UCB.

38. Shibutani, Najima, and Shibutani, "The First Month at the Tanforan Assembly Center for Japanese Evacuees," 99; Kikuchi, The Kikuchi Diary, 78.

39. Santa Anita Assembly Center, "Administrative Notice No.12: Procedure for Posting Bulletins and Notices," June 25, 1942, RG 338, Entry 27A, Box 29, Reel 484, NA.

40. Ibid.

41. E. P. Pulliam, Center Manager, Fresno Assembly Center, "Notice," July 23, 1942, Reel 13, File B2.06, Bancroft, UCB; Puyallup Assembly Center, "Headquarters Staff Meeting," July 24, 1942, National Japanese American Historical Society (NJAHS), Evacuation Internment Collection, Box 1, File: Albert Ichihara #4.

42. A. T. Hansen, Community Analyst, Heart Mountain Relocation Center, to M. O. Anderson, "Weekly Report for July 14-20, 1944," July 21, 1944, Reel 17, WRA Community Analysis Reports.

For other WRA studies on Bon Odori, see Heart Mountain Relocation Center, Community Analysis Section, "The Buddhist Situation and Bon Odori at Heart Mountain: Field Report No.4," September 25, 1943, Reel 1, Selected Materials Relating to the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, Record Group 210: Records of the War Relocation Authority, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration; "Obon Festival: Significance of Obon," August 14, 1943, Reel 1, Selected Materials Relating to the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, Record Group 210: Records of the War Relocation Authority, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration.

43. A. T. Hansen, Community Analyst, Heart Mountain Relocation Center, to M. O. Anderson, "Weekly Report for July 14-20, 1944," July 21, 1944, Reel 17, WRA Community Analysis Reports; Puyallup Assembly Center, "Headquarters Staff Meeting," July 24, 1942, National Japanese American Historical Society (NJAHS), Evacuation Internment Collection, Box 1, File: Albert Ichihara #4.

44. "Translation of Japanese Songs and Music: For the Concert of Japanese Music Scheduled to be Held on Friday, August 14, 1942 at WCCA Assembly Center, North Portland, Oregon," August 6, 1942, RG 338, Entry 27A, Box 21, Reel 379, NA.

45. Tamie Tsuchiyama, "A Preliminary Report on Japanese Evacuees at Santa Anita Assembly Center," July 31, 1942, p.30, Reel 16, File B8.05, Bancroft, UCB.

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[46] Estelle Ishigo, Lone Heart Mountain (Los Angeles, CA: Anderson, Ritchie & Simon, 1972), 14; Chairman of Recreational Directors, Tanforan Assembly Center, to LeRoy Thompson, "Entertainment for Japanese-Speaking Evacuees," July 24, 1942, Reel 14, File B3.04, Bancroft, UCB.

[47] Chairman of Recreational Directors to Thompson, "Entertainment for Japanese-Speaking Evacuees."

[48] Ibid.

[49] Cited in Thomas, The Salvage, 522.

[50] Charles Kikuchi, The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp: The Tanforan Journals of Charles Kikuchi ed. John Modell (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1973), 243. See also Thomas James, Exile Within: The Schooling of Japanese Americans 1942-1945 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 32.

[51] Ernest S. Takahashi, Director of Elementary Education at Tanforan, "Outline of Elementary Education -- Tanforan," n.d., pp.1-3, Records of the WRA, Reel 1, File Assembly Centers.

[52] For the Japanese-language press in Hawaii, see, for example, Jim A. Richstad, "The Press under Martial Law: The Hawaiian Experience," Journalism Monographs No.17 (November 1970); Tom Brislin, "Weep Into Silence/Cries of Rage: Bitter Divisions in Hawaii's Japanese Press," Journalism and Mass Communication Monographs No.154 (December 1995).

[53] Shimada, Nikkei Americajin no Taiheiyo Senso, 37.

[54] Harlan D. Unrau, The Evacuation and Relocation of Persons of Japanese Ancestry During World War II: A Historical Study of the Manzanar War Relocation Center Vol.1, (Washington D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, 1996), 76; Colburn Cox Stuart, comp., Inside View: Japanese American Evacuee Center at Rohwer, Arkansas 1941-1945 (McGehee, AK: Desha County Historical Society, 1979), 4.

[55] Philip M. Glick, Solicitor, WRA, to Dillon S. Myer, Director, WRA, "Memorandum for the Director," July 28, 1942, Papers of the CWRIC, Reel: 7, Box: 7.

[56] Lewis A. Sigler, Acting Solicitor, WRA, to D. S. Myer, Director, September 2, 1942, "Violation of Regulations Prohibiting Use of Japanese Language at Mass Meetings," September 2, 1942, RG 210, Entry 16, Box 237, File 34,110, NA.

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The Adventures of Cuff, Massa Grub, and Dinah Snowball:
Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in Frederick Douglass' Hometown Newspapers, 1847

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A paper presented to the History Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Aug. 7-10, 2002, Miami Beach, FL.

INTRODUCTION

Amid news of politics, the United States' war with Mexico, and the explosive growth of technology and commerce, stories appearing with some frequency in newspapers of the 1840s mentioned African Americans.[1] Many of the racial references seem gratuitous by present standards, and often the black people in these stories were described as violent criminals. Some texts were benevolent, but even in these the discourse can be painful to read from a twenty-first century sensitivity. For instance, a *Rochester* (N.Y.) *Daily Democrat* story promoting an anti-slavery fair included a poem with the line "God's blessings on the kinkly ones."[2]

One distinct form of racial and ethnic reference found in these newspapers borrowed from the blackface minstrel shows that were popular in this period. These items, usually meant to be humorous, employed exaggerated "black" dialect that was spelled phonetically and drew on the ignorance the authors and performers perceived in the characters for much of the intended humor, such as this piece from the *Daily Democrat*:

> "Cuff, I wants to ax you a kunundrum."
> "Exceeed, den."
> "I wants to know what kind of a plaster will cure de blues."
> "Whew! Guv dat up 'fore you ax um."
> "Well, den, de shinplaster am de ting."

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[1] Media historian Donald Shaw studied antebellum newspapers in three sections of the country and found a steady growth in the news dealing with slavery between 1820 and 1860. According to Shaw, "In 1847-1860, the issue of slavery – perhaps even before – came to dominate the political fabric of the young nation." (Donald Lewis Shaw, "News About Slavery from 1820-1860 in Newspapers of South, North and West," *Journalism Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (1984).)

[2] "The Fair," *Rochester Daily Democrat*, December 17, 1847, 2.

> "Ki! Alers tort you was de brackest nigga I eber saw, but jest be so good as to reform me what kind of bat killed Massa Brown's cat toder day"
> "Well, I gub dat right square up."
> "What it was a brick bat of course. Does you quit chen?"[3]

Were these items more than simply comedic filler? What might have been their effect on readers? What overall image of race and ethnicity emerges from the mainstream newspapers' content? Did stage performers influence newspaper journalism in this period?

General, literary, and linguistics historians have studied blackface minstrel theater in some depth but media historians have paid virtually no attention to the form or the possibility that the theatrical genre influenced the columns of the mainstream antebellum press. Yet because evidence of the appropriation exists, the transfer of textual forms from stage to print deserves study. Such analysis yields a greater understanding of the messages and view of society emanating from the daily press, as well as a glimpse at how journalists of the period were experimenting with media content.

This paper examines the forms of racial and ethnic references found in news columns, with an emphasis on these comedic references. The research is part of a general, continuing project to examine Frederick Douglass' influence on mainstream antebellum newspapers[4] and focuses on three white-owned dailies published in Rochester, N.Y., when Frederick Douglass went there in 1847. To create a benchmark by which to measure possible changes attributable to Douglass' journalism, this research analyzed all items appearing in the news columns of the *Daily Advertiser, Daily American,* and *Daily Democrat* from September 1 through December 31, 1847.[5]

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[3] "'Cuff, I Wants to Ax'," *Daily Democrat*, December 9 1847, 2.

[4] The project, conceptualized in 1991 under the working title "A Prophet In His Own Hometown," by coincidence responds to media historian David Mindich's more recent call for greater appreciation of Douglass and antebellum journalism in general. See, David T.Z. Mindich, "Understanding Frederick Douglass: Toward a New Synthesis Approach to the Birth of Modern American Journalism," *Journalism History* 26, no. 1 (2000).

These newspapers are important because they present a picture of mainstream journalism's racial and ethnic discourse at the time and place that the nineteenth century's most famous black journalist began his newspaper. No claim is made that these newspapers typified United States or even Northern journalism of the day, although the extensive use of news items from exchange papers hints at this and even suggests a mechanism for creating epistemological homogeneity among these editors. This study also broadens understanding of how non-metropolitan (e.g., New York City) newspapers were evolving from organs financed by political parties to professional publications dependent on advertising and circulation revenue for their existence.

The research also is important because it expands the examination of news from the much-studied political content to questions about the sources, forms, and effects of the less-studied texts often dismissed as unimportant, humorous, and frivolous. Interesting as it may be to imagine and recreate the newsrooms at the moment of news enactment, it is more important to examine how these journalists' may have influenced readers' views about important issues of the day.

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[5] Virtually complete runs for the three morning dailies published in 1847 in Rochester, N.Y., are available on microfilm at the Rochester Public Library and Cornell University Libraries, Ithaca, N.Y. No copies of a fourth daily, the *Evening Gazette,* appear to have survived.

EXAMINATION

It was in Rochester that Douglass, the former slave turned anti-slavery orator, launched his *North Star* on December 3, 1847. At the time, the city had four white-owned daily newspapers – the *Advertiser, American,* and *Democrat,* all published mornings, and the *Evening Gazette* – and several non-daily publications. There was a small but nationally known abolitionist movement already active in Rochester at this time,[6] and the dailies carried announcements of anti-slavery speakers and advertisements for weekly meetings and fairs of the Ladies Anti-Slavery Sewing Circle.

The editors in 1847 Rochester presented readers mixed messages on race. To varying degrees, they opposed slavery and supported the Wilmot Proviso's promise of preventing the spread of slavery to any new territories acquired by the United States. The conservative Whig *Daily American* appears to have given more coverage than the other two morning dailies to anti-slavery activities in the community and throughout the Northeast in late 1847 and early 1848, but all had some – if comparatively thin and not always supportive[7] – coverage of anti-slavery and abolitionist activities.[8]

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[6] Rochester's anti-slavery movement traces to the early 1830s and in the 1830s and early 1840s had produced three short-lived anti-slavery publications. Thomas James, "The Autobiography of Rev. Thomas James," *Rochester History* XXXVII, no. 4 (1975): 6, Blake McKelvey, "Rochester's Mid Years: Center of Genesee Country Life: 1854-1884," *Rochester History* II, no. 3 (1940): 2.

[7] The Democratic and stridently anti-Whig *Daily Advertiser,* although not writing in support of the party's Southern sympathies against abolition in the fall of 1847, did publish a story about the unmasking of a fake slave narrative "that caused at the time no little remark in the abolition-whig press of the North." ("Julius Melbourn," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, September 6, 1847, 2.). However, it also wrote approvingly of abolitionist Gerritt Smith ("Honor to Whom Honor Is Due," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, August 31, 1847, 2.).

Douglass, often with William Lloyd Garrison, had spoken in Rochester and the surrounding area a number of times in the 1840s, and he had a good opinion of the city.[9]

Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and News

Race often was part of the identification of news subjects if they were non-white. If race was not mentioned, the reader could assume the subject was white. An exception was a *Buffalo Express* report clipped and published in both the *Daily Advertiser* and the *Daily American* about a foot race in which the contestants were identified as white or Indian. "[J.] Canada is a Delaware Indian, from the Cattaraugus Reservation, and is a handsome runner," the item reported approvingly.[10]

Race as identification was very likely to be featured in stories reporting crimes by blacks, especially sexual crimes. An exchange item clipped from the *Sing Sing (N.Y.) Herald,* reported that "Something more than a year since, the western vicinity of the town of New Castle was horrified with an outrage; committed in open day, by a Negro upon a white girl."[11] Closer to home, the *Advertiser* reported on September 8, 1847, on the escape of four men from jail in Rochester, noting that "The fourth, James Ladd, a mulatto, about 21 years of age, was under a charge of rape. He is some 5 feet 7 inches high, hair rather long and bushy, and tolerably stout built."[12]

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[8] In New York state's 1846 constitutional referendum on whether to remove the $250 property requirement on African American voters, Rochester voted in favor of suffrage but its surrounding towns did not; Monroe County was not one the 10 counties in the state to vote for suffrage. See John L. Stanley, "Majority Tyranny in Tocqueville's America: The Failure of Negro Suffrage in 1846," *Political Science Quarterly* 84, no. 3 (1969).

[9] Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1993).

[10] "The Foot Race," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, September 14, 1847, 2, "The Foot Race," *Rochester Daily American*, September 14, 1847, 2. Germans were among other groups often identified by country of origin (see, for instance, "Wm. Baumstark, a German," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, September 3, 1847, 2.).

Race and Gender

Women were seldom discussed in these news columns but when they were, it is most often as ground – in collectives, anti-slavery sewing circles and church groups; raising money for charity and doing good works, stereotypically the "fair sex" or the 'weaker sex" – or if as figure, mostly as victim,[13] as a comic foil,[14] or as doing something exceptional that apparently would be unexpected of women, such the "unprotected female" who fought off an attacker, "a colored man," with a rifle and an ax. The report concluded, "Such heroic conduct is worthy of the highest admiration, and should stimulate females, under like circumstances, to as courageous a defence [sic]."[15]

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[11] "Important Arrest," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, September 4, 1847, 2.

[12] "$200 Reward — Four Prisoners Escaped from Jail," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, September 8, 1847, 2. The racial description of Ladd, but not of the other three who are presumed to have been white, was included in all subsequent stories about the escapees up to his capture ("The Jail Birds Caught!," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, September 17, 1847, 2.)

[13] See, for example, "Important Arrest."

[14] See, for example, "Mistaken Zoology," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, September 20, 1847, 2.

[15] "Female Bravery," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, October 5, 1847, 2.

Pratfalls and Race

Absent similar examples involving white characters, race seems an implicit feature in the editors choosing to run a type of story in which the characters' misdeeds and punishments were treated humorously. For instance, with no source credited for the report of an event occurring far from Rochester, the *Daily Advertiser* reported one morning:

> A negro hand on board the steamboat Amerlia, on the Mississippi, went into the hold with a lamp to steal a little "oh! be joyful." By mistake he put his gimblet into a barrel of alcohol; the spirit took from the lamp, the barrel burst, and the conflagration was only put out by cutting holes in the deck. — Pompy got fifty lashes and a room to himself in the calaboose, instead of the coveted whiskey.[16]

Another combination of the crime story and the denigrating humor story, in this case targeting blacks and Irish alike, appeared in the *Daily Advertiser* as a reprint of a *New York Globe* story:

> A rather ludicrous, and which might have been a serious accident, happened yesterday morning at a private boarding house in Bayard street. A negro woman on going on the back shed of a rear building, whose roof was not proof against heavy weight, and who had often been warned "to keep off the grass," (i.e. the roof,) but who still persisted in hanging clothes on the said building — was suddenly let through up to the arm pits, and was there kept dangling for some time before any of the boarders would extricate her in retaliation for her going where she was often forbid. Two Irish girls, who were looking on at the time, and who were no friends of Dinah, were tickled considerably, and seemed to enjoy it as a joke of the "first water," and who kept exclaiming at the top of their lungs, "Look at her now — Oh, the nager, the dirty black nager, look at her, look at her!"[17]

The newspapers reported other incidents involving blacks, sometimes with considerable sympathy but often with a secondary message that the editors may have used to justify their running the item in the first place. For instance, an item in the *Daily Advertiser* reported:

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[16] "Whiskey Stealers, Beware!," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, September 9, 1847, 2.

[17] "A Roof Scrambler, but nor a Somnambulist," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, September 3, 1847, 2.

> Henry William Herbert, the well known author and translator, has published a letter, giving an account of the accidental death of a poor old colored woman injured on the railroad, who died, he avers, from the willful negligence of those who refused to render her any assistance – "well dressed gentlemen," who, Mr. H. says he has no doubt "are members of Christian churches in Newark."[18]

In this case and others like it, the vehicle for the story, the "poor old colored woman" – one cannot imagine much lower station in Jacksonian America than being black, old *and* female – brought out the failure of the affluent white males' noblesse oblige. Of course, the noblesse needed an underclass to oblige; the item affirmed both.

Orators in Black and White

The antebellum editors turned to other African-American subjects as well. Douglass and the white abolitionist Garrison apparently were well-enough known to be newsworthy even when they were not being mobbed ("William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass have announced in the Liberator, that they shall be at Waterloo, on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 21st and 22 of September."),[19] but especially when they were:

> Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass, now on an anti slavery tour to the West, were severely handled at one of their meetings in Harrisburg, Pa., last week. Douglass furnishes an account of the fracas for the New York Anti Slavery Standard. Several volleys of "unmerchantable eggs," says he, were poured through the windows, filling the room with the most disgusting and stifling stench, which he calls "Slavery's choice incense;" and one struck Garrison on the back, sprinkling its *essence all "over his honored head."* A pack of fire crackers

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[18] "A Sharp Rebuke," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, September 16, 1847, 2. It could not be determined whether the Newark mentioned in the item was nearby Newark in Wayne County, New York; Newark, New Jersey; or some other community of that name.

[19] "William Lloyd Garrison," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, September 4, 1847, 2.

> was also exploded, causing much excitement and alarm. Cries of "throw out the niger,[sic]" were shouted by the mob outside, and stones and brickbats were hurled when he left the house, protected by some of his colored friends. Douglass himself escaped without injury.[20]

Often, Douglass and Garrison were mentioned only by name, indicating, perhaps, that these editors assumed readers knew them and their causes. Published announcements of the local speaking engagements of black orators such as Douglass, Charles L. Remond, and Henry Highland Garnet notwithstanding, however, at no time during the period studied did any of the newspapers cover what these orators said.[21]

Blackface in Black and White

Even as they reported news of Douglass' speaking tours, abolitionist politics, and anti-slavery meetings, the news columns of these Rochester dailies also periodically contained brief comedic items in the style of the blackface minstrel shows that by the mid-1840s had gained immense popularity in the country.[22]

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[20] "Douglass and Garrison Mobbed," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, August 26, 1847, 2. Italics in original. It is interesting to note that Douglass appeared before Garrison in the headline, although the story listed the white man first.

[21] Whether racism or politics influenced this cannot be determined. Typically in the newspapers studied here, events were promoted beforehand but there was little or no follow-up coverage.

[22] See, for example, Paul Gilmore, "'De Genewine Artekil': William Wells Brown, Blackface Minstrelsy, and Abolitionism," *American Literature* 69, no. 4 (1997), Eric Lott, "The Seeming Counterfeit: Racial Politics and Early Blackface Minstrelsy," *American Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (1991), William J. Mahar, "Black English in Early Blackface Minstrelsy: A New Interpretation of the Sources of Minstrel Show Dialect," *American Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (1985), Alexander Saxton, "Blackface Minstrelsy and Jacksonian Ideology," *American Quarterly* 27, no. 1 (1975).

Although the serious content of the antebellum press has received considerable study from media and, to a lesser extent, political historians,[23] virtually no attention has been paid to apparently frivolous items that in today's newspaper terms might be seen as fillers – akin to the poems that frequently were published in antebellum newspapers. Often, the subjects were comedic and lampooned blacks. The editors' intent is less important than the possible effect of their choices on readers, and that is an underlying perspective of this research.

An example of the form appeared in the *Daily Advertiser:*

> "Come yere Master Grub, while I axes yer a conundrum."
>
> "What dat yer want Mr. Squash?"
>
> "Well! Massa Grub, you knows I is one ob de sublimary niggers, I wants to ax yer a little dichshunary."
>
> "Well den Squash — ceed yerself."
>
> "Spose, Massa Grub, yer was a gwine to write a lub letter to Dinah Snowball, what kind of meat would yer put in em?"
>
> "Squash, I tinks ye hab been studyin' the dickshunary and swallerin' de print — I lays dat one de shelf, widout drawin' de first breff ober um."
>
> "Well den, Massa Grub, as I axes yer de first question, I'll giv yer an answer. Why ob course, yer would put *tender lines* in it." "Yah! Yah! Niggar, I is one ob de interlectual poppylation."[24]

The racially extreme phonetic spelling and syntax of the "Cuff" item (page 1) and "Master Grub" show a close connection to the blackface minstrel shows that were highly popular at this time. This form of racism even crept into items in which the editors poked fun at their brethren. An item attributed to the *Dayton Transcript* reported on a haircut for an editor traveling by lake steamer from Buffalo to Chicago. When the editor sought to pay the barber:

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[23] Mindich. See also, David. B. Sachsman, S. Kittrell Rushing, and Debra Reddin van Tuyll, ed., *The Civil War and the Press* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2000).

[24] "'Come Yere Massa Grub'," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, October 13, 1847, 2.

> He drew himself up with considerable pomposity —
> "I understands," said he, "dat you is an editor."
> "Well, what of it?" said we.
> "We never charge editors noffin," said he.
> "But my wooly friend," said we, "there are a good many editors traveling now-a-days, and such liberality on your part will prove a ruinous business."
> "Oh, neber mind," said he, "we makes it up off de *gemmen*."[25]

While many of the examples found in thus study appear to have been intended strictly for humor, some had the political overtones that scholars have found in the blackfase stage routines. One of the more overtly political examples, published in the conservative Whig *Daily American* from an exchange paper, is a transparent critique of United States policies toward Mexico even as it presented the comedic form of racial detailing:

> Hallo! Jim! You great six footer, you, what are you beating that poor old crippled nigger for?
>
> Why. Lor bless your soul, massa, I is trying to conquer a peace! Ye see, dis old nigger kep up a fuss all de time about me takin his tater patch. I ax de ole fool if he' didn't know 'twas my destiny, an, if he never hear 'bout de Angle Saxum, as how they was bound to take ebery ting dat dey could. But he just go on sayin it his'n. Den I jis take half his patch from him, and told um to help umself if he could. Den he did git mad an' tole me I better not. Den I gives him jesse a few times, an' he kicks back, an' now I is 'tarmined to conquer a peace, as Massa Polk says, an take de hull patch from him for his sass.[26]

It is inviting to read into the character "Jim" the United States president, Democrat James K. Polk, who, though no six-footer, pursued the Jacksonian ideal of "manifest destiny," making good on America's claim on the Oregon territory and the

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[25] "An Editor Not a Gentleman," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, September 14, 1847, 2.

[26] "Hallo! Jim!," *Rochester Daily American*, July 14, 1847, 2.

Democrats' overtures toward Mexican lands that led up to the Mexican War. The item offers a succinct Whig critique of Polk's conduct of the war.

DISCUSSION

An examination of four months worth of three daily newspapers in Rochester, N.Y., of 1847 shows that the most likely entry to Rochester's news columns for blacks and immigrants was to be violent or silly; for a white woman, to be part of the civic infrastructure, hero, or victim – especially at the hands of a black male.

Political stories treated race and slavery in the abstract. Partly because of the national focus on what do to with new territories accruing from the Mexican War, the issues were discussed in terms of political rights, government power, and sectional interests. By and large the only other discourse on race and slavery gave readers views of blacks on a short continuum from funny, harmless caricatures to physically menacing criminals, and particularly in stories about sex crimes. The short range of possibilities, however, was dichotomous and polarizing; there was little in between the absurd and the fearsome. Had there been substantive coverage, for instance, of Douglass' speeches, rather than simply his itinerary and confrontations with mobs, the overall discourse would have been different. Instead, it is hard to see in the discourse of the local newspapers an abolitionist tone that some scholars claim imbued at least some of the minstrel performances.[27]

The editors gave no evidence that they saw any contradiction between their derogatory portrayals of blacks and the eloquence of men like Douglass, who had visited the Rochester area a number of times in the 1840s, was a notable speaker on the anti-slavery circuit, and in 1847 began his newspaper there.

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[27] See, for instance, Gilmore, Lott.

Class vs. Race?

There is even a suggestion that the distinctions were made more along class lines than along racial lines. The speech style accorded by these editors appears to relate to the amount of control of the situation the protagonist seemed to have or to warrant. Thus, the lake steamer barber's speech identifies him as black but puts him further along the continuum and exercising a degree of control not found in Cuff and Grub stories. In sharp contrast to the speech of the minstrel burlesques, a story featuring another non-white, a native Turkish servant, gives him very precise English. In this *Daily Advertiser* item purporting to convey a conversation between a Mr. Barrell touring Constantinople and a Turkish attendant accompanying him, the Turk is given linguistically precise language such as "Not at all, not at all ... do you not know that no Christians are allowed to enter the street without a Turk to attend them?"[28] The lines accorded the Turkish servant are a far cry from those of Cuff, Grub, and some immigrants in these brief "news" stories.[29]

Sources of Blackface

Rochester's editors were very aware of the blackface theater. A leading source of the genre, Christy's Minstrels, performed in Rochester September 24, 1847, in Blossom

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[28] "The Turk," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, September 15, 1847, 2.

[29] Stories similar to those demeaning blacks demeaned Irish and Italian immigrants as well. For instance, it is not uncommon to see heavy phonetic spelling of Irish dialect — "'Ye're going out to the East Hingies, my darlint Mrs. Maroony' said an old Irish crone" ("Mistaken Zoology," 2.).

Hall.[30] In one of several puffs – editorial comments supporting the publication's advertisers – that appeared in each of the city's dailies, the *American* announced, "Their Concerts possess irresistible attractions for two large and respectable classes – the lovers of good music and the lovers of fun. Only one entertainment will be given, as the Minstrels are on their way to New York."[31] The *Advertiser*, likewise promoted the performance:

> This inimitable band of counterfeit Africans hold forth at the Saloon of Blossom's Hotel. Everybody knows the character of their performances, and hence those who desire a hearty laugh know how and where it can be had.[32]

Less than two weeks later, a second troupe of blackface minstrels, the Sable Harmonists, came to town, and in one of several puffs for the show, the *Advertiser* reported:

> The Sable Harmonists give their third and last exhibition this evening at the Hall of the Blossom House. We have not yet had time to pay them a visit, but learn from those who have that their performance is superior to that of Christy's Minstrels, whose concerts hitherto have been so crowded. To those who may be fond of this kind of amusement, it will no doubt be a rich treat.[33]

Beyond the names of their editors and publishers, we know little about the actual staffing of these three antebellum newspapers and so it is impossible to gauge the source of the comedic racism. It is unclear how much time these editors would have had to compose these fictional whimsies,[34] and the editors' inconsistency in crediting material picked up from the exchange papers and others sources makes the authorship elusive. Examples of black dialect were available to editors in comic texts from various sources as well as in some serious publications that "attempted to give 'authenticity' to their published versions of the conversations, folk, tales, and comic stories taken from the oral tradition by reproducing not only their conception of how some black speakers sounded, but also by capturing specific grammatical and syntactical features of black English."[35] By the late 1840s, the songs, skits, and jokes of the minstrel shows were readily available in sheet music and books produced by the blackface performers and impressarios, such as E.P. Christy of Christy's Minstrels, and it is possible the editors simply appropriated such items. They might even have been canned copy supplied by the minstrel shows for use as editorial puffs. In some cases, however, the dialect was an honest attempt to recreate the speech of blacks. Mahar notes that "many newspapers and magazines carried dialect stories, some, the abolitionist press in particular, regularly printed examples of dialects used by former slaves."[36]

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[30] The first Rochester performance of Christy's Minstrels was September 17, 1845, in the Eagle Hotel. (Martha Montague Ash, "The Social and Domestic Scene in Rochester, 1840-1860," *Rochester History* XVIII, no. 2 (1956): 17.)

[31] "Christy's Concert," *Rochester Daily American*, September 24 1847, 2.

[32] "Christy's Minstrels," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, September 24, 1847, 2.

[33] "The Sable Harmonists," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, October 7, 1847, 2.

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[34] A hint at a small staff unable to cover all the news comes from a story in the *Daily Advertiser,* in which it was reported that "Unavoidable absence from the city for a few hours prevented our attending" a meeting of workingmen ("The Workingmen's Adjourned Meeting," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, September 17, 1847, 2.) The item is unsigned, but it appeared at the same time associate editor Harvey L. Winants was in Saratoga County, sending back coverage of the State Fair (Harvey L. Winants, "State Agricultural Fair," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, September 17, 1847, 2.).

[35] Mahar: 271.

[36] Ibid.: 272-273.

Racist Referents?

According to Saxton, "Minstrel shows expressed class identification and hostility; they conveyed ethnic satire as well as social and political commentary of wide-ranging, sometimes radical character; they often contained explicitly sexual, homosexual and pornographic messages."[37]

Douglass despised the blackface minstrel shows, describing the white imitators of oppressed blacks as "the filthy scum of white society,"[38] and as Lott suggests, "from a contemporary vantage point, the minstrel show does seem a transparently racist curiosity, a form of leisure that – in inventing and ridiculing the slow-witted-but-irrepressible 'plantation darky' and the foppish 'northern dandy negro' – conveniently rationalized racial oppression."[39]

However, Lott and others in recent analyses have argued that, as Lott puts it, "audiences involved in early minstrelsy were not universally derisive of African-Americans or their culture and that there was a range of responses to the minstrel show which point to an instability or contradiction in the form itself."[40] Gilmore notes that scholars "have argued despite its racist content the minstrel show was a complicated production in which various, at times contradictory, racial and political logics came into play."[41] In general, modern interpretations of blackface minstrelsy have reconsidered the traditional criticism that these performances were purely racist and now see antislavery texts emerging from at least some of the routines.[42]

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[37] Saxton: 4.

[38] Frederick Douglass, *The North Star,* October 27, 1848, quoted in Lott: 223.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.: 224.

[41] Gilmore: 747.

Seven features of blackface minstrel shows need discussion here because they relate to the adaptation of the form to the news columns and racial referents. These are (1) authenticity, (2) malapropisms, (3) physicality, (4) gender representations, (5) resistance, (6) playfulness, and (7) anonymity.

Authenticity

Scholars note that the blackface performers made it a point of claiming their dialects, songs, dances, and demeanor came from studying African Americans on Southern docks and in the plantation fields,[43] No such provenances are provided by the newspaper items, which for the uncritical reader might have been construed as simple truths about the character and academic attainments of their subjects.[44]

Stage performers may have been able, as some present-day commentators suggest, to draw out expression and meanings that were not altogether racist. Lott maintains, for instance, that:

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[42] See, for instance, Gilmore; Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

[43] For instance, Gilmore writes that just as their eloquence required former slaves Douglass and William Wells Brown to establish their authenticity, "ads and reviews proclaimed that white performers like Christy … were 'the negro, par excellance,' "the best representative of our American Negro," "the perfect representative of the Southern Negro Character." Gilmore: 746-747. On the other hand, Alexander Saxton argued that these portrayals were not authentic, and that "their depiction of the South overlapped and duplicated the plantation myth which white Southerners were then bringing to perfection as part of their defense of slavery." (Saxton: 14.)

[44] The question of how literally antebellum readers took their newspapers has received little examination by media scholars.

> Though blackface was in the business of staging or manufacturing "race," that very enterprise also involved it in a *carnivalizing* of race, such that its ideological production became more contradictory, its consumption more indeterminate, its political effects more plural than previously assumed.[45]

For the newspaper texts, however stripping away the theatrical context risked a change in meaning for, as Mahar says, "the evidence suggests that significant changes would have been introduced by skilled performers who were sensitive to particular nuances that cannot – and certainly were not – conveyed in print."[46] Lacking the actors' ability to provide on-the-spot context and meaning – an epistemology for their readers – newspaper editors might risk subverting the messages they intended to convey. A stage actor's wink is difficult to simulate in a written text, especially if the reader may be a literalist.

Dialect and Malapropisms

The stage and newspaper dialects clearly were designed as racial or ethnic signifiers. They also might have been used to deflect repercussions for the thoughts they conveyed by their ability to engender ridicule, to not be taken seriously. Lott notes that when the ideas expressed might push the limits of acceptable thought, "Exaggerations or distortions of dialect, or gestures meant to underscore the complete nonsense of some songs might effectively dampen any too boisterous talk."[47]

Indeed, Lott and some other scholars suggest that through their speech and mannerisms, blackface performers were able to slyly critique not the blacks they portrayed but white elites who were responsible for the misery of the black men and women whose stereotypical characters so amused them.

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[45] Lott, "The Seeming Counterfeit: Racial Politics and Early Blackface Minstrelsy," 226. Italics in original.

[46] Mahar: 264-265.

[47] Lott, "The Seeming Counterfeit: Racial Politics and Early Blackface Minstrelsy," 232.

Physicality and Maleness

Analyses of the minstrel shows tend to emphasize maleness and physicality,[48] which also were featured in the descriptions of black men in the serious news. Most of the black men reported in the serious news stories in fall 1847 were powerful enough to do harm and male enough to make women their victims and possibly supplant white males. The sexual stories, real or invented, would not be lost on nineteenth century readers. References to a former slave as "of imposing stature, well-knit muscles and the countenance of one of nature's noblemen";[49] and the tale of a 160-pound slave who fell 27 feet to a stone pavement "and strange to relate not a bone, and not even the skin were broken; the fellow is now able to walk the streets,"[50] were not uncommon in referring to strength and vigor in black men. Although anti-slavery orators such as Douglass might speak from first-hand knowledge about frail slaves beaten and starved, the news columns almost invariably provide the image of robust, muscled, virile black men.

Resistance

Embedded, if not hidden, in many of the blackface routines and similar stories in the news columns was no small measure of resistance to the status quo of race and class-consciousness in Jacksonian America. In the Cuff and Grub items found in fall 1847, we get hints of rebellion just in their playfulness with words in an era when teaching slaves to read was forbidden by law in slave states. If their syntax is flawed to the ridiculous, their spirits come through as pushing the limits and enjoying the experience. And when the unnamed interlocutor asks Cuff "what kind of bat killed Massa Brown's cat toder day?"[51] it is hard to misguess from Cuff's apparent insider knowledge just whose hand held the "brick bat" that dispatched the slaver-owner's pet.

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[48] Gilmore: 747.

[49] "Henry Boyd," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, November 11, 1847, 2.

[50] "An Escape," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, September 2, 1847, 2.

Trickster

Where some of the racial dialect simply suggests non-standard American English and, therefore, non-standard, disempowered speakers, that case is not easily made in the cases of Cuff, Grub, and Squash. These characters are having fun with their conundrums and malapropisms. The wordplay depends on racial stereotypes but it is hard to imagine the reader in 1847 being confused into thinking this is the banter of field hands. At worst, these are characters who, as Gilmore puts it, resist "slavery through acts of subterfuge and masquerade."[52] One sees in these texts echoes of Raven and Coyote in Native American legends, or the "trickster of African American Culture."[53] Because the newspaper texts do not come directly from the subjects' culture, however, there is reason to ask whether from an abolitionist standpoint the effect doesn't backfire. There is a tension between the childlike speakers who cannot master the language and the sly rogues who know the language well enough to play with it. Cuff, Grub, and Squash are more amusing than dependent or pathetic characters. It is open to question whether the reader enjoying the joke saw them as sympathetic characters, or, indeed, as real characters at all, or as representative of the race in general. If the latter, it might be fruitful to research whether the trickster story and the ever-present reports of malevolent blacks might not combine in the public mind to stereotype blacks of the period as either physical or wily threats, or both.

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[51] "'Cuff, I Wants to Ax'."

[52] Gilmore: 749.

[53] Ibid.: 750.

Anonymity

As has been noted by virtually every scholar of blackface minstrelsy, the art form was built on masquerade, of white actors pretending to be blacks. Gilmore relates that carrying the masquerade to the extreme, black actors wishing to cash in on the minstrel popularity or to use the platform for abolitionist proselytizing even took to masquerading as whites portraying blacks.[54] In the news columns' burlesques, the anonymity was preserved. Readers in Rochester might have known people named Cuff or Dinah, common African American names of the day, but they would not have known who these particular characters were. Not much different from twenty-first century journalism, this anonymity allowed characters on stage and in the news columns to express thoughts and provide insight on issues that the orators and editors might not safely say in an era of ever-present mob violence.[55]

Adapting the Genre

We cannot know the authorship of the Cuff and Massa Grub pieces in the newspapers, nor even whether a lake steamer's barber ever gave a Dayton editor a free haircut. These stories may have come from stock texts or dramatists' pens. However, evidence of local editors adopting and extending the genre can be clearly found in a Rochester example.

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[54] Ibid.: 753.

[55] Mob violence directed at abolitionists is well-documented, and as Mindich points out, "the Jacksonian age was marked by vicious and bloody conflicts" over a wide range of issues. Mindich: 19.

If most of the dialect items found in the three newspapers seem to have come from outside sources, this local invention appeared on December 20, 1847.[56] In it, a woman reports on having attended a women's fair to benefit rebuilding St. Paul's Church, which was destroyed by fire in July of that year.[57] The piece[58] is remarkable in its length – at 1,467 words, nearly a full column deep[59] – and in its egregious spelling, grammar, and punctuation errors. It embodies most of the blackface minstrel genre's characteristics, including authenticity, malapropisms, resistance, playfulness, and anonymity:

> My dear Jemima Jane: — Don't expect to here nothing from me about these times, for i aint got no time tu write nor tu speak. The folks here air awl tu work for the church wot was burned up, trying tu bild it agin, and tu git lites and fire, and they have cum to me to help em. i feeled it to be a kompliment tu be arsked to wurk for the church; but then it wos a dredful xposure tu my ignorence.[60]

Instead of targeting blacks or immigrants, this piece appears to be what Saxton calls class satire.[61] If Rochester readers could get over the atrocious language errors and apparent burlesque of the poor, and women in particular, they might have found an unusual critique of society and government. The item is important because it suggests the way the minstrel form had migrated to the news columns and could be employed in subjects unrelated to race. Just as "blackface could … serve to enhance the ridicule directed against upper-class pretensions,"[62] the letter from "Susan" appears to be a satire of the middle class, not the poor.

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[56] "Intercepted Correspondence — the Ladies' Fair," *Rochester Daily Democrat*, December 20, 1847.

[57] "Destructive Conflagration," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, July 26, 1847, 3.

[58] See Appendix A.

[59] In these newspapers, the only stories receiving comparable space were political and Mexican war stories.

[60] "Intercepted Correspondence — the Ladies' Fair."

[61] Saxton: 4.

Authenticity, Gender, Anonymity

The story gains authenticity from the fact that the fair actually took place,[63] but it also offered a certain amount of face validity to the reader who, by virtue of his or her own literacy, might identify the flailing of a poor, uneducated woman, not to mention embarrassment and anguish at being thrust into association with her social and educational betters in a public enterprise. Despite mortification, however, in the end her pride enables her to reassert a sense not just of self-worth but of superiority, however unjustified it may seem to the readers.

We do not know "Susan," the purported letter writer, and beyond a contemporaneous knowledge of who the president of the St. Paul's women's society might have been, nothing in the item betrays at this remove who the author or the subjects who are mentioned might be. That anonymity allows the purported writer to rise above "her" professed linguistic and lexicographical inadequacies to reach a higher level of communication, just as blackface entertainers on stage are said to have done.

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[62] Ibid.: 11.

[63] "St. Paul's Church Fair," *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, December 24, 1847, 2.

Malapropisms

There is tension in the piece between the basic instincts to do good that are expressed by "Susan" and the emptiness of social mores she encounters from elites. The humor is graver than the blackface routines when it is seen that Susan is seeking to ape the style of her betters. Nevertheless, the piece can be read as support for the contention that the minstrel routines – and by extension, the editorial burlesques – had a certain degree of resistance discourse and served as a form of social criticism.[64] If the critique was too sensitive for some readers, the absurd syntax served to deflect criticism by suggesting it was not to be taken seriously.

Resistance

In the midst of this Whig newspaper's tale of confusion of manners and mores, "Intercepted Correspondence" suddenly jabs the Democratic president, Polk, and his conduct of the Mexican War in ways not seen elsewhere in columns that demonstrated at times robust comment on the political scene. "Susan," having been told that as a volunteer at the fair she would meet the president, is disappointed when the "president" turns out to be the head of the women's society, not of the United States:

> I cud'nt git over mi disapintement abowt the President, awltho I wornt so skared at sein her as i shud hav ben att the President wot livsat the wight house at woshintun, whu i here is killin peple evvery da, and has sow litle konshunse abowt it that he cum owt in the pappers the othur da and arsked the merrican peple to giv more munny to him to hire more soljurs to kil the meckicans with. i carnt sea no erthly purps to be ganed, and i blive he only eggspecks to git there land, wich i am sure, we don't warnt, wile i carnt by no howse tu liv in, becors evvery body sez that reel eztate is tu lo ter sel.[65]

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[64] See, for instance, Lott, "The Seeming Counterfeit: Racial Politics and Early Blackface Minstrelsy.", Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class.*

[65] "Intercepted Correspondence — the Ladies' Fair."

The section, sandwiched between banal comments about the St. Paul's Church fair in Rochester, makes a clear liberal Whig call for adjusting national priorities to favor domestic welfare over expansionist foreign wars. It is a populist criticism not to be found as plainly expressed in even the very strong opinions accompanying the political news examined during the fall of 1847 and illustrates a feature noted in the performances of blackface actors on stage.

Playfulness

Beyond the word play and phonetic spelling, "Intercepted Correspondence" is a playful departure from the local coverage that readers might have expected from their local newspapers on local issues of civic interest. Certainly, whether the subject be rich or poor, white or black, nothing in the *Democrat's* columns in fall 1847 suggested it would intrude on a local woman's mail for a story. The contrivance of the story not only masked the sentiments but the author as well. In contrast to the *Daily Democrat's* "Intercepted Correspondence," the *Daily Advertiser* simply reported four days later:

> The Fair held by the Ladies of St. Paul's Church, at the Eagle, on the afternoon and evening of Tuesday, was well attended, and we are glad to say that the receipts gave evidence of the liberality of our citizens. – The amount taken for refreshments, &c, was about $425, the expenses probably being less than one hundred. Considering the fact that there are so many benevolent objects appealing to our sympathies and pockets just at this time, this may be regarded as extremely liberal.[66]

CONCLUSION

Examination of these dailies in the last four months of 1847 indicates extensive stereotyping around a narrow range of images, with similar treatment given to women and immigrants. In particular, borrowing from blackface minstrel routines appears to have occurred in relation to African Americans and been extended to other issues. The editors of these three newspapers in the fall of 1847 gave readers a series of racist portrayals of African Americans and ignored the countervailing positive images that were available to them through coverage of Frederick Douglass and others black orators on the abolition circuits. Although the substance of Douglass' speeches was carried and remarked upon in other newspapers around the country, at no time in late 1847 did one of the Rochester newspapers do more than report Douglass' schedule unless it was to cover mob violence involving his appearances.

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[66] "St. Paul's Church Fair," 2.

Absent personal papers or other documents that might show how readers of the era received these messages and how they influenced the view of readers on race, gender, and ethnicity, it is difficult to know whether importing the routines of the blackface minstrels promoted racism or defused it. But where the theater performance of a skilled actor might transcend the language, in print the genre is more likely to marginalize blacks and others not in the mainstream. The newspaper texts tended to rationalize the greater subtlety of the blackface routines. The use of dialect that featured the "otherness" of the characters may have muted some of the subtle resistance themes scholars have found in the blackface minstrel performances.

It is interesting to speculate that these racist and ethnocentric dialect stories may have encouraged a change in journalism that we take for granted today. These stories highlighting the "otherness" of blacks, immigrants, and the poor relied on dialect to make their points. Thus, they make considerably greater use of direct quotes than do other stories in these papers. In time, the direct quote would be come a prime tool of journalists but in 1840s Rochester, the direct quote was largely a means to a lampoon.

It is possible to see in the Rochester dailies' burlesques a form of media agenda setting at work. The examples of minstrel-derived texts appear most often in the last four months of 1847, when two minstrel shows performed, in September and October. After December, however, such texts disappear; a study of the dailies' coverage in the first four months of 1848 failed to discover a single use of the dialect form.

APPENDIX A

The following appeared under the headline "Intercepted Correspondence – The Ladies' Fair" on Page 2 of the *Rochester Daily Democrat* on December 20, 1847.

Rochester, Dec. 17th.

My dear Jemima Jane: — Don't expect to here nothing from me about these times, for i aint got no time tu write nor tu speak. The folks here air awl tu work for the church wot was burned up, trying tu bild it agin, and tu git lites and fire, and they have cum to me to help em. i feeled it to be a kompliment tu be arsked to wurk for the church; but then it wos a dredful xposure tu my ignorence. My edjukashun wos mutch negleckted in my yuth, and i wos'nt brot up tu so; still, as wun shud not nevver mind trifles in a gud kose, i agreed tu thro in my might; but wot dew yew think! thay sade they warnted me tu cum tu thare sircle of industry tu work on sum nite caps that wos cut owt.They sade the President wos to be thare, and as you may suppose, i was mutch flattered that lades, awl dresed up in thare best, shud cum toa pure wurking wooman, and condesend to arsk her tu sit on there nise sofas, and drink her t, and aboveawl, tu meat the President. i told em i gessed i wud cum, thow i wated tu be erged, so as tew appere kwite gentele and modest like, and i put orf a da's woshing at haf a doller a day, toe goe. i phelt konsiderably agitated at furst, goin inter a rhume with so many lades in it; but tho' my nurves wos awl shuk up, i got along with it purty komfertable, and i sade how dow yew dew, (i kepe furgitting hough meny leters go in a wurd, witch plese xcuse,) tew awl the lades, sow as not tu give offense tew nobody, and then sot rite down inter the fust sete i cum tew; but i dew sa that if marters help tu bild up churches, then i have give a grate dele of help – for i don't xaggerate my felins wen i konsidered my self a marter in the wurst wa; for i was arsked tu hemm a rufel, but wen i sor hough litel the stiches witch the lades tuk, wos, my phingers phelt awl thumbs, and i worked so slo, that i eor i wasn't konsiddered prophetable, and i wos afrade thay wud think i worsn't wurth my t. Still, i thort it wos a honor to be settin their, and i wornted to se the President. Well, i wos thinkin abowt it orl, wen some wun sed the President is cum. My blud rose rite up ter fever hete, and i wos most scre owt of my wits. Wel, wot du yu think! i xpected tu sea a man with a crown on his hed and dimuns in it as big as hens eggs! wen, wot was my mottifcashun tu sea only a yung wooman, with a muzzlin de lain gownd on and nothin on her hed but her own hare! I was reel mad, and I cud orlmost have puled orf the new bo that I put on my cap, owt of spite. My trubbles after this began tu increase, and in spite of my better judgment, I kep makin mistakes. I cud'nt git over mi disapintement abowt the President, awltho I wornt so skared at sein her as i shud hav ben att the President wot livsat the wight house at woshintun, whu i here is killin peple evvery da, and has sow litle konshunse abowt it that he cum owt in the pappers the othur da and arsked the merrican peple to giv more munny to him to hire more soljurs to kil the meckicans with. i carnt sea no erthly purps to be ganed, and i blive he only

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eggspecks to git there land, wich i am sure, we don't warnt, wile i carnt by no howse tu liv in, becors evvery body sez that reel eztate is tu lo ter sel.

Well, tu go on with my story, the President arsked me to du some suing for her, on a nite cap, or a aprun, but i carnt xpres tu yew hou mutch i tride tu hide mi disma wen i sor her iing my wurk with her gray ize. i pelt as if i woz tu big for my body, and i finally thot i wud arsk for sume nitten wich i wors more use to; but i hadn't nited long before i herd a lady, whum i did not like from the beginnin, sa to her nex nabur, i *hope* we ant got no legs in this rheum that will fit that stockin; and then i herd anuther sa, if tha wornted tu sel it that they wud hav tu get a patent out, and sumthin nu in the shape of legs to fit it; for their worsn't nothin human that thay knu of that wud dew. wen it cam to this, i thort it bettr tu fante awa and go home. they wore orl vere kind, and one brot me sum little pills and told me two tak em. anuther sed that i must take a paleful of worter and put onter the fire and bile it doun tu a galon or a kwart; thay lade grate emfasis on the wurd *fire*, and addvised me tew put inter it 2 of the pills, and tu take inturnally a sponful twise a yere. they thort my complante must be kronic, thay sed; phitz most awlwas air, yew kno, (oxkews orl my mystake;) houever, i refused thar doctur-stuf, and went hum, but i hadn't biin long at hom, b 4 i waz cawled upon; the ladie that spok so unfelin abought my nittin, sed that she phelt verre sorre that she had saide enny thing 2 trubble me, and that too shough her regard for me, she com to sa that she herd i coud dew sumthing for her in the litterary wa; and she luked round my rume, witch certainly woz in a sad litter at the time; bcors, to goe to the soing sirkle, i had put ofe scowering my flore and al my uther werk. Eye told er, that it wos kuite in my lyne, and nuthing woud gyv me more pleasure; sow then i fownd she wanted me to right sum fooltons, a french wurd she sade, for litterare articles for the fare, whitch tha were to hav fur the church. – i did not like to eggshibit my ignorunse so much as tu tel her that i did knot no nothing wat she ment. sow, my dere jemima Jane, after sum explanashun from her about it, i found that it wos ecspeckted of me to kontribut tu the litterari reputashun of our kuntry, and toe tri tu reath mi broughs with reaths of fame; tue tel the truth, i phelt rather wurse than aout the stoxins, but i did not as sow – and so eye have bin renuing my studeys which i studdid wen i wos a little gal – spelin and wrightin in partickular. Reding was ollus mi dilite; but in speellin i wors rather deafishunt. then thair is a ung man, who is giving lessins graties in the hart of rightin poetre; i shud like to mensun his name, as he perfers blushin withowt bein sene, witch is also my felin. But i hav riten wone pece which ey think wil mortalize me, as the pooets say, and i wornt u too cum tu the fare to be hold tu the egle tevurn next tusda, whare it iz tue b sold, i xpekt. it is upon mi favorit subjeckt, the moon. Nough don't fergit tu com; yew kant conseve undur wha subjeckshun i hav kep the hul famely, sense i rote it, althow i will menshun tu u in konfidense that i got most of the wurds owt of johnson's Bookshunary. Mis johshun, our kuk, says he was a uncle ov hers, but i don't bleeve it. som fokes alwayse want tu hich onter sum grait name; but i dont think a purson dusts; nor swepes, nor skures turkeys a bit better for havin a dutchess for a ant, dew yu? i will just menshun, b 4 i clowse mi letter, that i liked tu hav becum a paragraff in the daily papers, a rechin arfter inspirashun, out of the third story winders, after the direxhun of my teecher, who tolled me to bee shure and skour the hevens and the erth for idees. I just eskapaed with mi lyfe, which wil, i am sure, make more shure tew com after yeu konsider awl the dangur i have ben in! and al for the gud ov the church.

In hast, yer affeckshunnate (john and eliza send lov) frend, Susan.

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History

William Brennan's Century:

How a Justice Changed His Mind About Obscenity

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William Brennan's Century:
How a Justice Changed His Mind About Obscenity

(7,242 words)

William J. Brennan, Jr., was considered one of the finest Justices to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court in the twentieth century — some say he was the best. His imprint is especially evident in cases concerning freedom of speech and freedom of the press. He wrote the majority opinion in *Times v. Sullivan*, a 1964 case that revolutionized libel law. He wrote the majority opinions in two cases that declared flag burning to be constitutionally protected expression. He stated that prior restraint on media coverage of criminal cases always violates the First Amendment, and he wrote an impassioned dissent in which he said attempts to suppress obscene material were, in nearly all cases, unconstitutional.

The writer Nat Hentoff said of him: "[O]n certain fundamental questions of individual liberty he has so profoundly redefined the framework in which the issues are discussed that he may well be the most influential member of the Court in this century."[1]

It didn't start out that way. In 1957, during his first term on the Court, Brennan declared that obscenity wasn't protected by the Constitution. He wrote the majority opinion in a case in which the defendants contended — unsuccessfully — that the First Amendment protected obscene materials. Brennan wrote that all ideas, no matter how unorthodox or controversial, are protected by the First Amendment. "[B]ut implicit in the history of the First

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[1] Nat Hentoff, "The Constitutionalist," *New Yorker*, 12 March, 1990, 45.

Amendment is the rejection of obscenity as utterly without redeeming social importance."[2] One critic said Brennan's historical argument was based on inference, and unwarranted inference at that.[3] Within a few years Brennan was lamenting his opinion and looking for ways to free himself from the judicial morass into which he'd stumbled.

So what prompted his opinion? What would inspire a Justice who later would become renowned for his support of the First Amendment to take such a stance? This paper will examine Brennan's decision in that case, *Roth v. U.S.*, and discuss his possible motivations and rationale; it will also examine his repudiation of the decision and the reasons why he changed his mind. An examination of his upbringing is accordingly necessary, as is a look at some of his celebrated First Amendment opinions and his evolution as a judge. By the time of his retirement in 1990 he was well known as an advocate of judicial activism over judicial restraint. The Constitution wasn't static, he said; it didn't live in a world that was "dead and gone" but existed to provide guidance in coping with "current problems and present needs."[4]

"Some disagree with my perspective," he said late in life, "but I approached my responsibility to interpret the Constitution in the only way I could as a twentieth-century American concerned about what the Constitution and the Bill of Rights mean to us in our time."[5]

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[2] *Roth v. U.S.*, 354 U.S. 476 (1957).

[3] Charles Rembar, *The End of Obscenity* (New York: Random House, 1968), 53.

[4] E. Joshua Rosenkranz and Bernard Schwartz, editors, *Reason and Passion* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), 40. (Cited works by William J. Brennan, Jr., David Halberstam, Anthony Lewis, William H. Rehnquist, Jeffrey Rosen, Bernard Schwartz, and Tom Wicker.)

A mule in the Kentucky Derby

Brennan's life spanned nearly the entire twentieth century, and his career on the Court covered much of the second half of it. He was born April 25, 1906, in Newark, New Jersey, and he died July 24, 1997, at the age of ninety-one, almost seven years to the day after retiring from the Court. He served as a Justice for thirty-four years and during his tenure wrote 461 majority opinions, 425 dissents and 474 other opinions — more than 1,360 in total. Only William Douglas wrote more opinions, and only five justices served longer: John Marshall, Stephen J. Field, Hugo Black, John Marshall Harlan, and Douglas.[6]

It wasn't just the length of his tenure that was impressive, but it was the quality of his work that made such a mark. "If we look at Justices in terms of their role in the decision process, [Brennan] was actually the most influential Associate Justice in Supreme Court history," said Bernard Schwartz, law professor and historian of the Constitution.[7]

Brennan's parents immigrated to the United States from Ireland, and he was the second of their eight children. His father worked as a furnace stoker for Ballantine Brewery. Believing Ballantine was mistreating its workers, he became an officer in a union that represented them. The Newark police were helping to break strikes, and so he ran for and won the position of Newark's director of public safety.

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[5] Rosenkranz, 18 (Brennan).

[6] *New York Times*, 25 July 1997, sec. B, p. 6.

[7] Ibid.

The younger Brennan often heard about and, in some cases, witnessed the results of accidents and layoffs, and he could relate to the workingman — not just to the work, but also to the hardships and tragedies that attended it. "What got me interested in people's rights and liberties was the kind of family and the kind of neighborhood I was brought up in," he said. "I saw all kinds of suffering — people had to struggle. I saw the suffering of my mother, even though we were never without. We always had something to eat, we always had something to wear. But others in the neighborhood had a harder time."[8]

Brennan said his father decided he should be a lawyer, and he never considered trying anything else, though he did wish he could have been a great quarterback. He graduated from the University of Pennsylvania and Harvard Law School, which he attended on a scholarship. He served in World War II and then returned home to New Jersey to practice law.

He was serving on the New Jersey Supreme Court when President Dwight Eisenhower appointed him to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1956 to replace Justice Sherman Minton, who had retired because of ill health. Brennan was an unexceptional, if not unknown, prospect for Justice, and his appointment came about somewhat by accident. Arthur Vanderbilt, chief justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, was considered the leading candidate to become the next Justice. He was supposed to speak at a conference on congestion in the courts in May of 1956 but became ill. Brennan filled in, and his speech impressed U.S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell, who was in attendance. Brownell recommended him to Eisenhower.[9]

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[8] Hentoff, 45.

Brennan seemed a safe bet; although he was a Democrat, Republicans expected him to steer a middle course, and better yet his appointment was seen as possible help for Eisenhower in his race for re-election against Adlai Stevenson. Ike faced pressure from Cardinal Francis Spellman to put a Roman Catholic on the Court, and Brennan fit that bill; plus, he was from the Northeast swing state of New Jersey.[10] Following the announcement of his appointment, Brennan's former Harvard Law School classmate Paul Freund said he couldn't recall him. Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter checked out Brennan through some of his sources at Harvard and found that Brennan hadn't taken his course in constitutional law. "Maybe he gave himself the pleasure of listening in," Frankfurter commented dryly.[11] Even Brennan considered himself an outsider; when he joined the Court he compared himself to a mule in the Kentucky Derby. "I don't expect to distinguish myself," he said, "but I do expect to benefit by the association."[12]

His confirmation hearing went without a hitch — with one exception. Sen. Joseph McCarthy said Brennan had used his position as a New Jersey Supreme Court justice to conduct "guerilla warfare" against anyone who dared attempt to expose communists. In particular, he took exception to a speech Brennan had given the previous year. Brennan had warned of abuses of civil liberties and had condemned "the shouted epithets at the hapless and helpless witness.... That path brings us perilously close to destroying liberty in liberty's name."[13] McCarthy was in the twilight of his political career, and his tirade against Brennan held little sway. When the Senate conducted a voice vote for confirmation, McCarthy sounded the only "no," though in a booming voice.[14]

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[9] Evan Thomas, "The Bush Court," *Newsweek*, 30 July 1990, 19.
[10] Rosenkranz, 24 (Halberstam).
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.

Brennan became a Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court on October 15, 1956, joining a liberal core that included Hugo Black, William Douglas and later, as his views changed, Chief Justice Earl Warren. Through the lens of history, it appears to be an exceptional Court, with some of the most powerful and highly regarded Justices in history. Yet many observers and historians contend the Court had little identity at the time. In its nearly two-hundred years of existence it had yet even to address obscenity or libel and, said University of Chicago Law School Dean Geoffrey Stone, "its overall free speech jurisprudence was rigid, simplistic, and incomplete."[15] Much would change during the next thirty-four years, and much of it had to do with Brennan. He led the liberal wing of the Court under three chief justices: Warren, Warren Burger, and William Rehnquist — initially speaking for the majority and later, when the makeup of the Court changed, as the leading voice of dissent. Stone calculated that he participated in 252 decisions affecting free speech and accepted the free-speech claim 221 times, or 88 percent; the majority of the court did so in 148 cases, or 59 percent.[16]

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[13] Hentoff, 52.

[14] Robert D. Richards, *Uninhibited, Robust, and Wide Open: Mr. Justice Brennan's Legacy to the First Amendment* (Boone, N.C.: Parkway Publishers, 1994) 2-3.

[15] Richards, 7.

That's hardly what Eisenhower envisioned when he appointed Brennan, and he later would rue his decision. In 1961, Ike was asked whether he'd made any substantial mistakes during his presidency. "Yes, two," he answered. "And they are both sitting on the Supreme Court." [17] He was referring to Warren and Brennan.

Uninhibited, robust and wide open

The *Roth* decision came early in Brennan's career on the Court, and so it's important to look first at his opinions in other First Amendment cases in order to understand how seemingly out of character it was. This section will examine three cases: *New York Times v. Sullivan*; *Nebraska Press Association v. Stuart*, which concerns media coverage of criminal cases; and *Texas v. Johnson*, a flag-burning case considered by journalist Tom Wicker as Brennan's most celebrated judicial act.[18] Each illustrates how Brennan applied the First Amendment but, just as importantly, each in its own way displays the characteristics that made him such an effective Justice.

In *Sullivan*, he backed up his contention that the Constitution wasn't static, that it could be a guide for negotiating current problems — in this case the use of seditious libel to squelch public debate. "Once Brennan determined what the desired end should be," Bernard Schwartz said, "he never had difficulty in fashioning the legal means to achieve that end."[19]

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[16] Rosenkranz, 46 (Wicker).
[17] Hentoff, 45.
[18] Rosenkranz, 45 (Wicker).

In the Nebraska case, he forcefully and absolutely stated the importance of allowing media coverage of criminal trials. But he wasn't an absolutist when it came to the media's rights; like the Court, they had to be willing to consider other societal interests, he said. This willingness to take a broad view added to his effectiveness. In an eloquent, if possibly overstated, tribute, federal Judge John J. Gibbons said Brennan was "more humane than Holmes, broader in outlook than Brandeis, more practical and flexible than Black, a finer scholar than Warren, more eloquent than Hughes, more painstaking than any of them. He appears, in other words, to be the most outstanding justice in our century."[20]

The flag-burning case came near the end of his career and at a time when his views often clashed with a more conservative Court. Yet, he was able to fashion a 5-4 majority on an extremely contentious issue — not once, but twice. He did this in large part through strength of personality, a trait of Brennan's that can't be overestimated. If there was one Justice to line up behind on an unpopular issue, it was William Brennan. "Justice Brennan's great success on and off the Court has been achieved because he is an ebullient, generous, charismatic human being," said Abraham D. Sofaer, one of his former clerks and later a Federal Court judge. "My point is not that Justice Brennan has always been right. Rather, it is that the human qualities of the man have placed him at a formidable advantage in any dispute over the wisdom and propriety of his decisions."[21]

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[19] Rosenkranz, 40 (Schwartz).

[20] Rosenkranz, 24-25 (Halberstam).

■ *Times v. Sullivan*:

Brennan joined the Supreme Court two years after the Justices held, in *Brown v. Board of Education*, that segregation of public schools was unconstitutional. And he joined it less than a year after Rosa Parks refused to move to the back of a bus in Montgomery, Alabama, prompting a boycott that focused the nation's attention on racism in the South. America's view of racism and its approach to segregation were changing quickly — too quickly for many people, especially in the South. Southern courts retaliated with a series of libel suits against news organizations that made it difficult for them to cover racism without risking costly damages.[22] The strategy was simple: The press, having to defend every charge in court, would be handcuffed by restraints of time and money, and this would chill criticism and, consequently, public debate.

A jury in the Circuit Court of Montgomery County, Alabama, awarded L.B. Sullivan, the city's police commissioner, $500,000 in damages for what he contended were libelous statements made about him in an advertisement in *The New York Times* (though his name never appeared in the ad). By the time the Court decided Sullivan's case in 1964, southern officials had brought nearly $300 million in libel actions against the press. At issue in *Sullivan* was not just the plaintiff's reputation, but the fact the newspaper had made factual errors in the advertisement.

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[21] *New York Times*, 25 July 1997, sec. B, p. 6.

[22] Anthony Lewis, *Make No Law: The Sullivan Case and the First Amendment* (New York: Random House, 1991), 34.

Prior to *Sullivan*, the Court hadn't considered the First Amendment as protection in cases of libel; it was the jurisdiction of state courts. This case provided a libel showdown of sorts: Could a state use the principles of seditious libel — censorship of government criticism — or must it submit to the First Amendment's requirements of free expression and a free press? The Court decided unanimously in favor of the *Times* and sent the case back to Alabama, with the proviso that further proceedings be consistent with this judgment. In essence, it demanded that state courts now follow the points laid out in Brennan's opinion.

Brennan wrote that public officials had no right to use factual error or false statements as a reason for bringing a libel suit, unless they could prove actual malice on the part of the defendant. He defined actual malice as "knowledge that statements are false or in reckless disregard of the truth."[23] He also eloquently stated the importance of debate in America's democratic process: "Thus we consider this case against the background of a profound national commitment to the principle that debate on public issues should be uninhibited, robust, and wide-open, and that it may well include vehement, caustic, and sometimes unpleasantly sharp attacks on government and public officials."[24]

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[23] *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan*, 376 U.S. 254 (1976).

[24] Ibid.

Anthony Lewis, who authored a book about the case, "Make No Law," said *Sullivan* was seen by reporters and editors as a "charter of freedom."[25] It laid the groundwork for much of the investigative reporting that followed, including coverage of Vietnam and Watergate.

Brennan deservedly receives much credit for his opinion, but it's interesting to note that he didn't go far enough for three members of the Court: First Amendment absolutists Black and Douglas and liberal Arthur Goldberg. Black wrote a concurring opinion in which Douglas joined, and Goldberg wrote his own concurring opinion. He'd stated his position earlier in a memo to Brennan:

"As you know I am enthusiastic about your opinion while I regard it to be the most outstanding of the term. You know my view that your evidence warrants the rule of an absolute privilege for comment on official conduct. ... I don't know about Hugo but I am certainly agreeable to joining your excellent opinion and then writing very briefly that I would go beyond to the extent that I have indicated. You can count on my vote for your opinion. It would be very bad if you didn't get a court."[26]

Brennan referred to his liberal colleagues' views in 1986 when William Bradford Reynolds, assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights in the Reagan administration, said Brennan's "radical egalitarianism" was a major threat to individual liberty. A puzzled Brennan responded: "I have never gone as far as the extreme left on the Court, let alone the country. How would you characterize

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[25] Rosenkranz, 53 (Lewis).

[26] Richards, 23.

Justices Black and Douglas? We didn't see eye to eye in so many things. They were, I suppose, far to the left of me."[27]

He added: "Black's and Douglas's position was that when the Constitution directs that Congress shall make 'no law' abridging freedom of speech, that means *no* law, and this was something that the Chief (Warren) nor I could accept. In our view, there were limits...."[28]

Brennan was without question a liberal Justice, but he was unwilling to take an absolutist position on freedom of the press. Neither did he agree with the belief of Reagan's Attorney General Edwin Meese that the framers' "original understanding" was the only legitimate source for constitutional interpretation. He believed the meaning of the Constitution should be found in the society of today, and he gave a speech at Georgetown University in 1985 in which he called the constitutional theory of original intent "little more than arrogance cloaked as humility."[29] (Interestingly, the theory of original intent had been his rationale in the *Roth* case.)

Brennan followed in the tradition of Chief Justice John Marshall, who wrote in 1819 that the Constitution was "intended to endure for ages to come, and, consequently to be adapted to the various crises of human affairs."[30] Brennan exhibited an ability to adapt to the crises faced by the society in which he lived — and that came to full fruition in *Sullivan*.

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[27] Jeffrey T. Leeds, "A Life on the Court," *New York Times Magazine*, 5 October 1986, 25.

[28] Ibid

[29] *New York Times*, 25 July 25 1997, sec. B, p. 6.

[30] Lewis, 49.

■ ***Nebraska Press Association v. Stuart*:**

This case has been called one of the top three free-press cases in Supreme Court history, along with *Times v. Sullivan* and *New York Times v. United States* (the Pentagon Papers).[31] The Court ruled unanimously in 1976 that a Nebraska judge had violated the First Amendment by restricting media comment or reporting on a sensational murder trial. Chief Justice Burger, writing the opinion, established a test that a judge must meet before issuing a gag order on the media in a criminal trial. The decision was hailed by supporters of the First Amendment as a substantial, though not total, victory.[32] The ruling left open the possibility of exceptional cases in which a gag order would be allowed to assure a fair trial — a position from which Brennan dissented.

He wrote a concurring opinion in which he was joined by Justices Potter Stewart and Thurgood Marshall. He said orders on the press that prohibit publication of information about criminal cases are always unconstitutional as a violation of the First Amendment. Reporting on the criminal-justice system is at the core of First Amendment values, he stated. Secrecy can breed ignorance and distrust of courts and suspicion of the competence of judges; free and robust coverage and criticism, on the other hand, helps the public understand how the criminal-justice system works.[33]

"[T]here can be no prohibition on the publication by the press of any information pertaining to pending judicial proceedings or the operation of the criminal justice system," he wrote, "no matter how shabby the means by which the information is obtained."[34]

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[31] David Hudson, "U.S. Supreme Court said no to prior restraints on press 25 years ago," 28 August 2001, http://www.freedomforum.org.

[32] *New York Times*, 1 July 1976, sec. A, p. 1.

[33] *Nebraska Press Association v. Stuart*, 427 U.S. 539 (1976).

His comment on the sometimes shabby means by which the media collected information reflected two things: the existence of the media's sometimes disreputable tactics, which were exhibited in the coverage of Dr. Sam Sheppard's murder trial in Cleveland in 1954; and Brennan's unwillingness to extend unfettered freedom to the press, though in theory that's what the First Amendment states. He shared James Madison's view of the press that "it is better to leave a few of its noxious branches to their luxuriant growth, than, by pruning them away, to injure the vigour of those yielding the proper fruits."[35] But he also believed the media must be willing to accommodate societal interests other than its own, and he chided it for overreacting when court cases went against it.

This showed, yet again, his flexibility and his broad outlook. In many ways he was, while on the Court, the great quarterback he'd hoped to be on the football field. He led the Court on many issues — even when the makeup changed and he found himself on the outside. "Court observers agree that the liberal Justice, even in supposed exile of dissent, has emerged as the master strategist of the Burger court," *Time* magazine wrote in 1985.[36] It was said he pulled the middle of the Court — Justices Harry A. Blackmun, Lewis F. Powell, and Byron White — closer to the liberal corner he shared with Marshall and John

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Lewis, 93.

[36] Michael S. Serrill, "The Power of William Brennan," *Time*, 22 July 1985, 62.

P. Stevens.[37] Such ability would serve him well when he took on the extremely contentious issue of desecration of the flag.

■ *Texas v. Johnson*

Gregory Lee Johnson burned the American flag during a protest of the Republican National Convention in Dallas in 1984. He subsequently was convicted of desecrating the flag under a Texas law, but the Supreme Court ruled 5-4 in 1989 that the law was invalid as an infringement of free speech. Brennan wrote the opinion for a majority that included himself, Marshall, Blackmun, Anthony Kennedy, and Antonin Scalia.

In his opinion, he made a statement that Tom Wicker said could very well be inscribed on his tombstone: "If there is a bedrock principle underlying the First Amendment, it is that the Government may not prohibit the expression of an idea simply because society finds the idea itself offensive or disagreeable."[38]

The *Johnson* decision outraged many Americans. A Gallup Organization poll conducted for *Newsweek* magazine showed that sixty-eight percent of those polled favored a constitutional amendment to make desecrating the flag illegal; just twenty-seven percent opposed it. Conservative political commentator Patrick Buchanan said a class struggle was under way between college-educated liberals committed to such abstractions as First Amendment rights and "people who can't comprehend why the flag can't be protected."[39] President George Bush called for a constitutional amendment to nullify *Johnson*, and though Congress was unwilling to go that far, it did enact the Flag Protection Act of 1989, which outlawed any type of physical defilement of the flag. It didn't matter whether the defilement was intended as political expression; any desecration of the flag was illegal.

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[37] Ibid.

[38] W. Wat Hopkins, "Mr. Justice Brennan and Freedom of Expression" (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1991), 111.

Protestors, including Shawn Eichman in Seattle, quickly challenged the law by setting flags afire. In 1990, the Court upheld their challenge in *U.S. v. Eichman*, one of Brennan's last cases. Again he wrote the opinion for the same 5-4 majority. "Punishing desecration of the flag dilutes the very freedom that makes this emblem so revered, and worth revering," he wrote.[40]

Brennan was criticized for his position,[41] but he recognized that attacks on unpopular ideas or individuals — cloaked, at times, in patriotism — could in the long run prove more harmful to constitutionally protected liberties. The *Johnson* and *Eichman* decisions stamped him as one of the Court's leading defenders of freedom of expression. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., had written in 1919 about the importance of "freedom for the thought we hate," but in dissent.[42] Brennan had made it come true in the two flag-burning cases.

That he could serve as the lightning rod on such unpopular decisions and remain one of the most beloved and respected Justices of all time is a tribute to his personality. He was, by all accounts, the friendliest and most sincere Justice ever. "No one who has ever met him can be other than moved by the powerful and enduring quality of his humanity," said journalist David Halberstam. "He is a man defined by his own innate decency and kindness."[43] On the tenth anniversary of his appointment to the Court, Chief Justice Warren said of him: "His belief in the dignity of human beings — all human beings — is unbounded."[44]

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[39] Eloise Salholz, "Value Judgments," *Newsweek*, 25 June 1990, 17.

[40] Rosenkranz, 63 (Lewis).

[41] Richards, 103.

[42] *Abrams v. U.S.*, 250 U.S. 616 (1919)

Jeffrey T. Leeds, who served as clerk to Brennan for a year in 1985-86, said he was easily the warmest member of the Court — "famous for his charm, always linking arms with his colleagues or reaching out for a hand or a shoulder."[45] Some of his clerks called him "Yoda," after the "Star Wars" character, because of his wisdom, his gentle nature — and his large ears.[46]

Chief Justice Rehnquist recalled meeting the other Justices for the first time at a luncheon. He found them all friendly, but the most cordial was Brennan. The two of them often disagreed on judicial issues, Rehnquist said, but it never affected their friendship. This made his positions more palatable, his opinions easier to read. "[N]ot only those who agree with a position that is ably expounded benefit from the exposition," Rehnquist said; "so do those who end up disagreeing with the position."[47]

The Chief Justice made that observation shortly before Brennan's death in 1997. By then Brennan's place as lion of the Court was well established, his opinions on freedom of speech and freedom of the press quoted widely and often. Rehnquist was most certainly speaking to opinions such as those in *U.S. v. Eichman* and *Johnson v. Texas*, but, probably without knowing it, he also had spoken to Brennan's vexing opinion on obscenity in *Roth v. U.S.* In that case, it was Brennan who had ended up disagreeing with his own opinion and who had benefited, or at least learned, from the exposition.

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[43] Rosenkranz, 25 (Halberstam).

[44] Richards, 8.

[45] Leeds, 26.

[46] Thomas, 19.

[47] Rosenkranz, 11 (Rehnquist).

Contemporary community standards

The two cases before the Supreme Court required the Justices to determine the constitutionality of a federal obscenity law — the Comstock Act — and of an obscenity provision in California's penal code. The cases had been argued in April of 1957, and now, two months later, the Justices would announce their decision.

Obscenity prosecutions of literary works, as well as pornography, were fairly common in the first half of the twentieth century, and state and federal courts wanted some guidance from the Supreme Court on how best to deal with such cases.[48] The Court for the first time was going to address the constitutionality of both a federal and state law on obscenity.

These cases didn't involve literary classics. Samuel Roth had been convicted in New York under the Comstock Act for mailing obscene, filthy and indecent literature. He was sentenced to five years in prison and fined $5,000. His publications included titles such as "Wild Passion" and "Wanton by the

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[48] Frederick F. Schauer, "The Law of Obscenity" (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., 1976), 33.

Night."[49] David Alberts had been convicted under the California law for keeping for sale or advertising obscene and indecent books. He was sentenced to two years probation on condition he serve sixty days in jail and pay a $500 fine. Among his titles: "The Love Affair of a Priest and a Nun" and "Male Homosexuals Tell Their Stories."[50]

The Court sustained the conviction of Roth by a vote of 6-3, and of Alberts by a vote of 7-2. Brennan, the junior member of the Court, wrote the majority opinion in both cases. He'd written a few opinions before this, but they mostly were in deportation cases and labor or business disputes.[51] At least one scholar has surmised that Chief Justice Warren assigned Brennan the opinion because the Catholic Organization for Decent Literature was a national leader in censorship efforts and Brennan was the Court's only Catholic. Another scholar thought the reason was Brennan's ability to write an opinion that would win a majority.[52] What's more likely is the reason Brennan often cited: No one else wanted anything to do with it.[53]

Early in his opinion, Brennan asked the question of whether obscenity falls into the area of protected speech and press. His answer was no. "Although this is the first time the question has been squarely presented to this Court, either under the First Amendment or under the Fourteenth Amendment, expressions found in numerous opinions indicate that this Court has always assumed that obscenity is not protected by the freedoms of speech and press." He then cited a dozen cases to back up his point.[54] As early as 1712, he noted, Massachusetts had made it a crime to publish "any filthy, obscene, or profane song, pamphlet, libel or mock sermon."[55]

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Schauer, 34.

[51] Hopkins, 12.

[52] Hopkins, 21.

[53] Ibid.

After stating that obscenity fell outside the First Amendment, he attempted to define it. He pointed out that obscenity and sex aren't the same thing, and the portrayal of sex in art, literature, and science was insufficient reason to deny constitutional protection. The standard for judging obscenity was "whether to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeals to the prurient interest."[56] Although the concept of a contemporary community standard had been established in lower courts, this was the first time it was used by the Supreme Court.

For better or worse, the Court had for the first time defined obscenity and had stated that obscene materials fell outside the First Amendment protections. Yet, the ruling did little to provide courts with a concise way of ruling on cases involving obscenity. In the following ten years, the Supreme Court would decide thirteen obscenity cases and offer fifty-five separate opinions.[57]

The *Roth* case attracted perfunctory attention, and prompted little criticism. (A dozen years later, Charles Rembar, who defended the book "Fanny Hill" against obscenity charges in 1966, wrote that "Brennan's historical argument is all inference, and the inference is unwarranted."[58] The ruling gave the majority a constitutional basis on which to suppress obscenity, he said, adding, "The intellectual minority was not going to have its way; the tastes of the avant-garde would not disrupt the restraints on publication that a majority morality required."[59])

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[54] *Roth*.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Hentoff, 54.

The *Roth* decision was a reflection of its time, and the opinion a reflection of the man who wrote it. Of much greater import than obscenity to most Americans in 1957 was the issue of civil liberties — in regard to alleged Communists and their sympathizers and to African-Americans, who were beginning to vociferously seek equality. Three years earlier the Court had ordered desegregation of public schools in *Brown v. Board of Education*. The case provided a landmark victory over the forces of racial segregation, but it also was one of a number of decisions by the Justices that had many Americans wondering if the Court was out of touch with the rest of the country.

Two days after the *Roth* decision, President Eisenhower, speaking at a press conference, called on the country to support the Court as a stabilizing influence, despite some of its recent rulings — "some that each of us have very great trouble understanding."[60] Among other things, the Court had required the federal government to be more careful in proceeding against suspected Communists and had placed restrictions on the states and Congress in investigations of alleged subversives. Eisenhower didn't mention *Roth*.

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[58] Rembar, 53.
[59] Rembar, 51.
[60] *New York Times*, 27 June 1957, sec. A, p. 10.

Under the circumstances, it's understandable why the Court wasn't prepared to take the stance that obscenity was protected by the First Amendment; it would have been yet another radical departure from the mainstream of American society — Rembar's "majority morality." In a September 1957 article in *The Saturday Evening Post*, Jack Alexander wrote of the term: "When it was over, its main decisions were likened by liberal commentators to a fresh breeze of freedom sweeping across the land. The conservatives wondered whether it was just a strong whiff of potassium cyanide."[61]

Brennan's opinion makes more sense, too, when observed in the context of his personal life. Not only did his father decide he should become a lawyer but, in Brennan's words, "Everything I am, I am because of my father."[62] Consider that statement in relation to an incident that occurred while his father was Newark's public-safety director. A company called Public Welfare Pictures wanted to show a sex-education film called "Naked Truth" at a local theater. The elder Brennan was offended and threatened to revoke the theater's license if it showed the film. Public Welfare Pictures obtained an injunction against Brennan, and he was compelled to allow it to open. The younger Brennan studied the case in law school and agreed with the injunction. "He was an old-fashioned Irish Catholic who took a very dim view of the propriety of anything that touched on the sexual," Brennan said of his father.[63] In 1957, he was still very much his father's son — as well as a product of his time. One might question Brennan's historical defense or his logic in the *Roth* opinion, but it's wrong to overlook what motivated it.

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[61] Richards, 3.
[62] Hopkins, 4.
[63] Hentoff, 48.

The decision made him the Court's leading spokesman on obscenity, whether he liked it or not. Between *Roth* and another landmark obscenity case, *Miller v. California*, in 1973, the Court delivered opinions in seventeen major obscenity cases. Brennan wrote ten majority or plurality opinions and dissented twice.[64] As with *Roth*, he wrote the opinions on obscenity because no one else would touch them.[65]

By 1962, he'd already recognized that *Roth* didn't work, and he said so in a fourteen-page memo to Justice Harlan. "I lean to the idea that we ought let the widespread ferment continue a bit longer in legal periodicals and courts over the soundness and means of the Roth test before we re-examine it," he wrote.. "I am particularly persuaded to that view, of course, by the fact that the Court is hopelessly divided in this area and there appears almost no prospect of an agreement of five of us upon anything."[66]

He questioned whether the Constitution permits any law that suppresses obscene material and whether there should be a national or local test for obscenity, something he'd failed to delineate in *Roth*.[67] He also expressed concern about whether suppressing obscenity could infringe on art. "It is not the business of the law to interfere with the dissemination of literature and art, or even to enforce the community's standards of taste and decorum against expression that seems deplorably tawdry and vulgar," he wrote. It was the Court's business, however, "to suppress clandestine trafficking in pornographic filth, which has become a social problem of major dimensions."[68]

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[64] Hopkins, 20-21.
[65] Hentoff, 54.
[66] Hopkins, 20.
[67] Hopkins, 23.

He concluded: "I am prepared to say that government suppression of the obscene violates the First Amendment in all but the rare cases in which a private-injury, public-nuisance, or clear-and-present rationale is applicable."[69] It took him more than ten years to apply this principle in an opinion, and by then it was in dissent.

'That damn obscenity thing'

During the sixteen years between *Roth* and *Miller* it generally was agreed by most on the Court — Black and Douglas excluded — that obscenity fell outside the First Amendment's protection, but there was little agreement on the definition of obscene materials. In a 1964 case, *Jacobellis v. Ohio*, the Court had to decide whether a French film, "Les Amants," should be considered obscene.[70] The Justices concluded it wasn't, but in so doing offered seven different opinions. Brennan wrote the majority opinion and reiterated that movies, books, and other materials were outside the scope of the First Amendment when they were "utterly without redeeming social importance" — which this movie wasn't. He added that "contemporary community standards" referred to a national test because, after all, they were talking about a national Constitution. Only Goldberg agreed with him.[71] The Court was beginning to narrow the definition of obscenity to hardcore pornography, defined famously in this case by Potter Stewart as, "I know it when I see it." That was about as precise as the Justices could be.

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[68] Hopkins, 24.
[69] Rosenkranz, 68 (Rosen).
[70] Richards, 53.

Two years later, the Court handed down decisions in three obscenity cases, offering fourteen separate opinions. The best known of the cases was *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure v. Massachusetts*. The Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts had found the book, popularly known as "Fanny Hill," to be obscene. Brennan wrote a plurality opinion (6-3) in which he articulated his worries about infringement on artistic works, pointing out that the Massachusetts court had misinterpreted the *Roth* test concerning social importance. He wrote that a work of art must be worthless to be banned: "A book cannot be proscribed unless it is found to be *utterly* without redeeming social *value* [emphasis added]. This is so even though the book is found to possess the requisite prurient appeal and to be patently offensive."[72]

The ruling produced what became known as the *Roth/Memoirs* test; it strengthened the definition of obscenity as hardcore pornography, and it essentially held sway until *Miller*. Brennan had stated in *Roth* that obscenity was "utterly without redeeming social importance"; in *Jacobellis* he introduced it as a test; and in *Memoirs* he made it an integral part of the test. As a result of *Memoirs*, obscenity convictions could now be reversed if the material in question showed some degree of social value.[73] Brennan, cognizant of the importance of going slowly and of gaining a consensus, was bringing the Court along with him as his interpretation of obscenity law evolved.

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[71] Schauer, 118-119.
[72] Rembar, 48.
[73] Schauer, 43.

But the Court's makeup changed between *Memoirs* and *Miller*. Warren, Black, Harlan, and Abe Fortas were replaced by Burger, Powell, Blackmun, and Rehnquist — all appointed by President Richard Nixon. This more conservative court decided in 1973 to re-examine "the intractable obscenity problem" in a group of five cases,[74] including *Miller v. California*.

Marvin Miller had been convicted under California law for sending advertising brochures and a movie unsolicited to a Newport Beach restaurant. The materials contained pictures and drawings explicitly depicting men and women engaged in sexual acts. An accompanying case, *Paris Adult Theatre I v. Slaton*, concerned the showing of pornographic films at an adult theater in Atlanta.

Brennan finally was ready to state that the First Amendment provided protection of obscene materials. He had come to the conclusion that it was impossible for the Court to define obscenity, and that it would be better for obscene materials to exist — as long as they were kept away from children and unwilling adults — than to take the chance of suppressing speech that might not be obscene. His conclusion made sense: How could anyone define obscenity if nine Justices — all men, all white, all highly educated in the same field — couldn't agree on a definition?

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[74] Miller v. California, 413 U.S. 15 (1973).

The cases pitted Brennan against Burger, the leader of Court's new, more conservative guard. While Brennan favored scrapping any test for obscenity, Burger wanted to strengthen the existing standard, and he proposed a new test:[75]

"The basic guidelines for the trier of fact must be:

(a) whether 'the average person, applying contemporary community standards' would find that the work, taken as a whole appeals to the prurient interest;...

(b) whether the work depicts or describes, in a patently offensive way, sexual conduct specifically defined by the applicable state law; and

(c) whether the work taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value."[76]

This would, in effect, remove the burden of proof from the prosecutor. It would now be up to the defense to convince a judge or a jury that the indicted material had a "serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value."[77] Burger also argued that "contemporary community standards" meant local standards, determined by a jury.

Brennan and Burger asked the other justices to choose sides,[78] and Brennan wrote a memo to the others on May 22, 1972, stating his viewpoint:

"With all respect, the Chief Justice's proposed solution to the obscenity quagmire will, in my view, worsen an already intolerable mess. I've been thinking for some time that only a drastic change in applicable constitutional principles promises a way out. I've decided to use this case as a vehicle for saying that I'm prepared to make that change."[79]

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[75] Richards, 62.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Hentoff, 56.
[78] Hopkins, 32.

Brennan presented his position in *Paris Adult Theater*, joined in his dissent by Stewart and Marshall. In what has been described as one of the most dramatic mea culpas in the history of the Supreme Court,[80] he went from being the Court's chief spokesman in obscenity cases to its chief dissenter.[81]

Brennan got right to the point, expressing his opposition in the second sentence of his opinion: "No other aspect of the First Amendment has, in recent years, demanded so substantial a commitment of our time, generated such disharmony of views, and remained so resistant to the formulation of stable and manageable standards," he wrote. "I am convinced that the approach initiated sixteen years ago in *Roth v. United States*, and culminating in the Court's decision today, cannot bring stability to this area of the law without jeopardizing fundamental First Amendment values, and I have concluded that the time has come to make a significant departure from that approach."[82] He defended his opinion in *Roth* — after all, five Justices agreed with it — but admitted the test he laid out then was conceived in the abstract and proved short-lived. He dismissed the ideas of "prurient interest," "patent offensiveness," and "serious literary value" as unworkable. "The meaning of these concepts necessarily varies with the experience, outlook, and even idiosyncrasies of the person defining them."[83] And he took the *Miller* decision to task, arguing that it was "an invitation to widespread suppression of sexually oriented speech."[84]

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[79] Richards, 61.

[80] Rosenkranz, 65 (Rosen).

[81] Hopkins, 36.

[82] Paris Adult Theater I v. Slaton, 413 U.S. 49 (1973).

The opinion went on for more than twenty pages — Burger's majority opinion was about seven pages — and Douglas, in his own dissenting opinion, applauded Brennan for finally forsaking "the low road."[85] The power of Brennan's opinion came not just in his disagreement with Burger, but also in how he stated the case for fuller freedom of expression. He admitted he didn't have all the answers, but he did know that the restrictions the Court was attempting to place on obscene materials substantially undermined the guarantees of the First Amendment. In dissent — as Holmes had in 1919 in addressing freedom for unpopular ideas — Brennan had offered future Justices a way to tackle an implacable issue.

The public responded strongly to the test laid out in *Miller*. Critics said it would allow states to ban books, magazines, plays, and motion pictures that were offensive in one community, but acceptable elsewhere. Others expressed worries that prosecuting attorneys in every county in the country would use the new ruling for grandstanding trials.[86] On one thing everyone agreed: "Prosecution of pornographers will increase" — a prospect that sounded fine to such supporters of the decision as California Gov. Ronald Reagan and Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo.[87]

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[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid.

[86] *New York Times*, 22 June 1973, sec. A, p. 1, 14.

The *Miller* test remains the basis for obscenity law to this day, but the expected flood of pornography convictions never materialized. Studies show many Americans gladly partake of and willingly pay for erotic magazines, videos, and Web sites, and generally consider obscenity prosecutions a low priority.[88] All of which proves the futility of the Court's attempts to define and curtail pornographic material. "I put sixteen years into that damn obscenity thing," Brennan said late in his career. "I tried and I tried, and I waffled back and forth, and I finally gave up. If you can't define it, you can't prosecute against it."[89]

Brennan's role in dealing with obscenity is instructive, but not because it shows how he changed the law — he didn't. It does show, however, how he evolved as a Justice and how the Court changed during his thirty-four-year tenure. Obscenity still can't be defined, and with the advent of the Internet it's a more complicated issue than ever. In November 2001, the Court heard a case concerning access to Internet pornography. Much of the focus was on the issue of "contemporary community standards." The Justices debated whether the use of community standards violates the free-speech rights of Web site operators, and they listened to representatives from the federal government and the

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[87] *New York Times*, 23 June 1973, sec. A, p. 1.

[88] W. Wat Hopkins, "Communication and the Law," (Northport, Alabama: Vision Press, 2000), 74-75.

[89] Hopkins, "Mr. Justice Brennan," 12.

American Civil Liberties Union argue about whether it was possible to have a national standard.[90]

Had William Brennan been present he probably would have shaken his head and offered yet another mea culpa, repeating words he spoke in 1986: "I do wish we had found a solution to the definitional horror of obscenity. Perhaps it has been my fault; this has been a very difficult issue which we seemed to have not gotten quite right."[91]

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[90] *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 29 November 2001, sec. A, p. 3.

[91] Leeds, 79.

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History

The Black Press and Coverage of the Negro Leagues Before and After Integration: When to stop the cheering?

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AEJMC National Convention,
Aug. 7-10, 2002
Miami

The Black Press and Coverage of the Negro Leagues Before and After Integration: When to stop the cheering?

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Abstract: The cleaving of baseball's history is reflected in black press coverage, which rapidly and comprehensively shifted attention to the major leagues with Jackie Robinson's arrival in Brooklyn in 1947. This paper analyzes that fundamental shift in coverage by examining the multidimensional relationship the press had with the Negro leagues, including its officials, team owners, and fans. When black papers began filling their sports pages with news of Robinson and his Dodgers, little room or resource remained for Negro league teams. The once-strong ties of brotherhood in the fight for equality and full access were loosened as the black newspapers neared their goal. It is these transitions, from brotherhood to paternalism to grandfatherly nostalgic tribute and regret, which are examined here.
End of abstract

Citation style: The reference system of this manuscript conforms to the 14th edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style*. The endnotes include every work cited in the text.

Black newspaper columnist Joe Bostic described as criminal the killing of Negro baseball, a million-dollar business for New York alone and the third-largest black business in the country.[1] Writing for New York City's *People's Voice* in 1942, Bostic accurately predicted that the black community would see little or no direct economic benefit from the integration of baseball, at least in the short term. Negro league teams, which at the time of Bostic's writing were economically healthy, for the most part had black owners, black officials, black scorekeepers, black announcers, black secretaries.[2] Black-owned printers published their programs and printed their tickets. Only the black press covered their games; for the mainstream press, the Negro leagues were invisible. By dooming the two Negro leagues – the Negro National and the Negro American, Bostic wrote, integration would stop monies from going "into Negro pockets."[3] He turned out to be prescient.

Less than five years after Bostic's column, in April 1947, Jackie Robinson put on the uniform of the Brooklyn Dodgers and changed the baseball world. In 1946, as Robinson played for the Dodgers' top farm team in Montreal, the season was the Negro leagues' most successful in terms of numbers of fans and profits.[4] Attendance hit new highs throughout the two Negro leagues, and more than 45,000 attended the East-West Classic all-star game in August. A second all-star game was added in Washington, D.C., attracting another 17,000.[5] Integration was coming, but with the geography of Robinson in Montreal, Roy Campanella and Don Newcombe in the minor leagues in Nashua, New Hampshire, and Johnny Wright in Three Rivers, Quebec, there was no direct competition yet for paying fans in Negro league cities.

The signing of Robinson in 1947 cleaved baseball history into "before" and "after," as *Brown v. Board of Education* in May 1954 marked eras in the nation's schools. During Robinson's inaugural season in Dodger blue, just one season removed from the Negro leagues' finest, ten of the twelve black teams lost money as attendance plummeted, much of it redirected to big league parks.[6] The 1948 per game attendance frequently dropped below 2,000. Anemic fan support forced the closure of the Negro National League after sixteen years of continuous operation. The Negro American League would limp along until 1963, finishing with schedules filled out more with barnstorming than credible league competition.[7] The Indianapolis Clowns, known for their slapstick acts prior to games, survived until 1968.[8]

Bostic proven right

The cleaving of baseball's history is reflected in black press coverage, which rapidly and comprehensively shifted attention to the major leagues with Robinson's arrival in Brooklyn.[9] This paper analyzes that fundamental shift in coverage by examining the multidimensional relationship the press had with the Negro leagues, including its officials, team owners, and fans. When black papers such as the *Pittsburgh Courier, Chicago Defender, Baltimore Afro-American*, *New York Amsterdam News*, and *Indianapolis Ledger,* the same newspapers that helped found the Negro leagues,[10] began filling their sports pages with news of Robinson and his Dodgers, little room or resource remained for Negro league teams.[11] The once-strong ties of brotherhood in the fight for equality and full access were loosened as the black newspapers neared their goal. The stance of the black papers vis-à-vis the Negro leagues became paternalistic and highly critical just before and during Robinson's initial major league campaign, with little evident sympathy for the dilemma faced by owners in achieving integration but losing their source of revenue. Coverage remained highly critical through the 1940s. Only after the Negro leagues had largely faded in the 1950s did newspapermen show signs of nostalgia and, in a few instances, hints of regret.

It is these transitions, from brotherhood to paternalism to grandfatherly nostalgic tribute, that are examined here. It is in part a way of looking at one of the great dilemmas for American society, which claims allegiance to the ideals of integration and equal access, in education as in athletics, but often fails to make an accounting of the social and economic costs to the black community when these ideals are fulfilled. This failure is evidenced by the view of the black press of Negro league players as merely chits or pawns in the game to win integration. The concern for the welfare and, in many cases, plight of Negro league players is conspicuously absent in coverage throughout the period studied.

It could be argued that the exploitation of black players by the likes of Branch Rickey and Bill Veeck, who paid what many consider was far below market value for players of the ability and credentials of Robinson, Roy Campanella, Don Newcombe, Larry Doby, and Satchel Paige, was preceded by exploitation by the Negro league team owners, with no notice of it paid by black newspapers. (Famously, Rickey paid nothing for the services of Jackie Robinson.) For though a windfall for a precious few, integration cost the vast majority of black players their paychecks.[12] Historian Janet Bruce has estimated that the Negro leagues employed about 500 people and pumped 75 percent of income back into the black community.[13] Fewer than sixty Negro league players ever played in a major league game.[14]

The topic of baseball coverage by black newspapers is important for many reasons, including the role the black press played in the integration of the sport at all levels. Journalism historians David Wiggins, Chris Lamb, and Glen Bleske, among others, have examined this role, particularly the influence of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the largest of the black newspapers of the

1940s.[15] To the extent the black press contributed to the erosion of the Negro leagues, however, black newspapers reduced opportunities for players of those leagues in disproportionate numbers relative to the number created in big league baseball.[16] Before selling her club, the Newark Eagles, for instance, Effa Manley blamed the black press and Negro fans for her organization's financial woes.[17]

Historian Mark Ribowsky described the black papers' switch from the Negro leagues to Robinson's every move as immediate and wholesale: "In the rush to see Robinson through his perilous journey, when homage (to the Negro leagues) was called for, all that came up was silence, or worse, contempt."[18] Team owners and sportswriters often feuded over the uneven league coverage, with the newspapers blaming the teams for failing to consistently send in information, especially when they lost, and league officials blaming the newspapers for regarding them as little more than a booking agency.[19]

For the purposes of this paper, *integration* refers to the signing of Robinson to a major league contract in April 1947, beginning the migration of top black players from the Negro leagues to the majors. It is acknowledged that integration was far more complicated and gradual. It was a process, requiring a dozen years *after* Robinson's first season for all big league teams to have even a single black player in uniform. The black press had begun crusading for integration in the 1920s and continued through the early 1960s, when desegregation in spring training and among the minor leagues still was being fought.[20] Special attention in this paper is paid to the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the nation's largest black newspaper during the mid-1940s,[21] and the *Chicago Defender*, the second-largest black news weekly, and to the prolific writing of the two papers' sports editors, the *Courier's* Wendell Smith and the *Defender's* Fay Young. Also important here are Joe Bostic, a strident sportswriter for *The People's Voice* in Harlem.

Big business

Black baseball ("blackball" to Ribowsky[22] and others) was more than a source of pride and a focal point of solidarity for black Americans. It was one of the most successful African American business enterprises during the "bleak decades of racial exclusion," along with banking, black insurance companies, and newspapers.[23] Baseball was an important part of the rhythms and routines of summer for the black community, and by the turn of the 20th century was as much social event as athletic contest. Sunday games, for which fans would wear their Sunday best, attracted as many as 50,000, topping same-day turnstile numbers for big league games.[24] Sunday games prompted black churches to let out early and were sometimes preceded by entertainment from stars such as Bill "Bojangles" Robinson and Lena Horne.[25]

The Kansas City Monarchs, for instance, were described in the local black newspaper as "the life of Kansas City in the Negro vicinity."[26] On opening day in 1937, the Monarchs and the Chicago American Giants were greeted in Kansas City with a parade of 500 decorated cars, two marching bands, and the renowned Kansas City Monarch Booster Club.[27] When in December 1930 Rube Foster, a founder of the Negro National League and owner of the American Giants, passed away, his body lay in state for three days and services filled with 3,000 mourners.[28]

Nature of coverage before integration: brotherhood

The relationship between the black press and baseball was conflicted. The two were intertwined to varying degrees throughout the existence of the black leagues. Since before the founding of the Negro National League by Foster in 1920, black newspapers performed the duties of an informal league governing body.[29] The partnership dated back to the League of Colored Base Ball Players, a precursor to the Negro leagues, which was organized in 1886 by

Walter S. Brown, formerly a correspondent covering Pittsburgh for the *Cleveland Gazette,* a prominent weekly black paper.[30]

Sol White, arguably black baseball's first historian, joined with two sportswriters from the *Philadelphia Item* to form one of the earliest dominant black teams, the Philadelphia Giants, in 1902.[31] One of those sportswriters, later White's publisher, Walter "Slick" Schlichter, who also managed the Giants,[32] served as their press agent, and challenged white baseball to a championship game with his International League Cup-winning club. After a lengthy playing career culminating in 1909, White went on to write for two black newspapers in New York City, the *Age* and the *Amsterdam News.*[33] Still highly regarded and widely cited, White's history has been called "the dead sea scrolls of black professional baseball's pioneering community."[34]

Brother from birth

Sportswriters from several leading black papers, including the *Kansas City Call, Indianapolis Freeman*, *Indianapolis Ledger*, and *Chicago Defender,* were integral in 1920 in the founding of the first enduring black league, the Negro National League, even drafting its constitution.[35] Later, roster sizes for the NNL were influenced by the same coterie of sportswriters.[36] The NNL's acceptance of a white owner – the Monarchs' J.L. Wilkinson – was significantly helped by the support of the *Indianapolis Freeman* and by Fay Young of the *Defender;*[37] and a *Call* sportswriter helped Wilkinson come up with a name for his team with the headline, "Monarchs of all they survey."[38]

Further underlining the symbiotic relationship of NNL teams and the black press, the Monarchs' traveling secretary, Q. J. Gilmore, wrote game stories for the *Call* and wired them in from the road, the method used to generate much of the black papers' coverage of Negro league contests.[39] At the national level, when the NNL needed arbitration to settle disputes between its often-contentious owners, it looked to W. Rollo Wilson, a sportswriter for the *Courier*, even naming Wilson league commissioner.[40]

Portal and posting service

Only the black papers carried game results and statistics, albeit incompletely. The mainstream press ignored Negro league competition. They served as a kind of "public message board for opposing managers to announce challenges," and they frequently advocated fairness and sportsmanship.[41] The *Freeman,* Indianapolis' black newspaper from 1884-1927, the *Call* and the *Courier* extensively covered black baseball's luminaries, including players, managers, and owners. In 1913, former player and manager, Rube Foster, who would seven years later found the Negro National League, used the *Freeman* to prescribe for black baseball an organizational structure mirroring big league baseball. In his lengthy analysis, he also argued for coverage by the daily newspapers, if such an organization could be achieved.[42] Cum Posey, owner of perennial champion, Pittsburgh's Homestead Grays, and secretary of the NNL, wrote several first-person columns in the sports pages of the *Courier*, a newspaper in which Posey was a stockholder.[43] In one article that appeared in the *Courier's* sports pages in place of columnist Wendell Smith's weekly views, Posey wrote in the interests of the league's "self-preservation."[44] When Posey died in March 1946, the *Courier* devoted a page and a half to the "Famed Baseball Leader," or virtually all of its weekly diet of sports coverage.[45]

Prior to Robinson joining the Dodgers, for the black community the major leagues that existed in the periphery, and black press coverage reflected this reality. The *Defender*, for example, did not run a single story on the major leagues during the 1945 season until Robinson's signing was announced in October.[46] Black press coverage of the Negro leagues, however, resembled that of major league baseball by the *New York Times* and *Chicago Tribune,* including news on player moves, accounts of league meetings, box scores and game coverage, schedule information, and features. According to Ribowsky, "but for (black press) coverage, the Negro leagues would probably dried up long ago."[47] *Defender* sports editor Frank "Fay" Young, one of the first black newspapermen to champion integration in the 1920s,[48] often extolled the black press in general and the *Defender's* efforts specifically for support of black baseball:

> The Chicago [East-West all-star] game taught the promoters a lesson. Of the 32,000, less than 1,500 were white baseball fans paying their way. In other words, the success of the game was made by Negro newspapers and the daily press . . . It was the Negro press that carried the percentages, the feats of the various stars all through the year, and it was the readers of the Negro newspapers who had the knowledge of what they were going to see.[49]

Cheerleader and political ally

Whenever league attendance slipped, the black press rallied behind the Negro leagues, at least until Robinson and Campanella were Dodgers. In the early 1920s, for example, Kansas City sportswriters responded to declining attendance at Monarchs' games by urging civic groups to buy blocks of seats, asking women to come out for "Ladies Night," and publicizing "Knothole Day" for kids.[50] As late as 1953, the *Call* encouraged attendance at Monarch games: "Negro baseball ain't dead yet . . . It may not be as fat and sassy as it once was, or as robust at the gate, but it is still actively ambulatory."[51] When the federal government's Office of Defense Transportation ordered Negro league teams to surrender their buses to the war effort, the *Call* organized a petition drive and argued in its pages that, "Negro baseball is an integral part of the national game which President Roosevelt wishes continued ... Baseball has been the chief summer entertainment of many of the signers of this petition. Let Negro baseball live."[52]

Black press support was perhaps most energetic for the East-West Game, an all-star contest similar to the major league version and an event that owed its existence in part to the press. Pittsburgh's Gus Greenlee organized the game with the exclusive cooperation of the *Defender* and the *Courier*.[53] The black papers picked the players and heavily promoted the game, which was played annually in August at Chicago's Comiskey Park. It was celebrated as the "Dream Game" and "the greatest promotion in the history of the Negro sports world," "a gigantic business comparable in every way with the big league all-star game."[54] Smith pointed out that the 1947 game, which rated "with the biggest sports attractions in the country," outdrew the major league all-star game 47,000 to 29,000.[55] The 1945 game, in which Monarch shortstop Jackie Robinson starred defensively was, at least to Smith, "the game of games":

> There have been many colorful, sensational East-West games in the past. Stars have glittered and sparkled on the silken turf of Comiskey Park, with a blinding brilliance to make the classic the game of games. In fact, their stellar performances have made it possible for sports writers to refer to the contest as "the Dream Game."[56]

Epitomizing the state of baseball coverage prior to Jackie Robinson's life as a Dodger, the *Defender* promoted the East-West game in 1946 on its front page with an eight-column headline predicting it to be "Most Colorful in History."[57] The advance story was 43 column inches, the longest baseball story in the *Defender* that year, and with it appeared lineups, four photos, and nine other Negro league stories. Robinson and Campanella, on the other hand, both toiling in the minor leagues north of the border, alone represented coverage of major league organizations in that issue with a pair of two-inch stories.

There is evidence that black sportswriters were aware of what integration would do to the Negro leagues. The Baltimore *Afro-American's* Sam Lacy, a member of the Baseball Hall of Fame's Writers' Wing, told historian Jim Reisler that he knew it would spell their doom, but that after Robinson, "the Negro leagues was [*sic*] a symbol I couldn't live with anymore."[58] Eight years prior to Robinson cracking the color barrier, the captain of perennial Negro league champs the Homestead Grays, Vic Harris, told Lacy that if big league teams began signing black players, it would mean the end for the Negro leagues: "We do have some good ballplayers among us, but not nearly as many fit for the majors as seems to be the belief. But if they start picking them up, what are the remaining players going to do to make a living? Our crowds are not what they should be now . . . How could the other 75 or 80% (of black players) survive?"[59]

Nature of coverage after integration: Paternalism

In 1947, both fans and the black press turned almost their full attention to the major leagues. The shift was discernible, dramatic, and, for Negro league team owners, disastrous. The Newark Eagles, to name but one example, counted 120,000 patrons for home games at Ruppert Stadium in 1946. By 1948, however, the season total was 35,000 and the club shut down.[60] Black press overage of the major leagues in 1948, for example, strikingly resembled, at least in amount, its coverage of the Negro leagues in 1945.[61]

The NNL folded after the difficult 1948 season, with its surviving teams absorbed into the Negro American League. Almost ignored by the press, the Negro American League and its two divisions limped through the 1950s and early 1960s, disbanding after the 1963 campaign.[62] After 1946, the black press, interested as it was in the new class of black major leaguers, reported Negro league games even more inconsistently, relying on game reports from the teams. After 1946 editorials and columns in the black press that commented on the Negro leagues focused either on the ineptness of league officials and owners or the need for fans to continue supporting the leagues for the purpose of completing baseball's integration.

Don't forget the "golden goose"

Black newspapers called on the black community not to turn its back on the Negro leagues while they did precisely that, at least in terms of the amount and types of coverage. In May 1947, Ric Roberts, the *Courier*'s Washington, D.C.-based writer, implored fans:

> It is important, therefore, that our baseball fans should remember that (the Negro leagues) is the lone channel through which Jackie Robinson, Roy Campanella and Don Newcombe might have traveled to the hitherto lily-white side . . . Now, more than ever, the leagues need your support, and none of the smart-alecky disdain that some fans seem to be developing … the golden egg is wonderful … but let's not forget the goose that laid 'em.[63]

Within a few weeks of Roberts' column, Smith issued an equally emphatic call for support, saying that Negro league owners deserve consideration because of their big investments.[64] "The lush days haven't been here long," he wrote, referring to the banner 1946 season, "and they won't be here much longer." As late as May 1948, Fay Young at the *Defender* was simultaneously crusading to integrate the Cubs and White Sox and urging black community support for the Chicago American Giants. But the tone is similar to that of a parent talking a child into taking medicine: "It is only right that all of us roll up our sleeves now and give the team our fullest support," wrote Fay Young. "It is all right to yell for what we want but it sure wouldn't be right if we didn't patronize the club when it appears to be what we asked for. It takes money to run a first class ball club. If we want Chicago to have one we have to attend the ball games. There is no other way around it."[65]

Young and Smith wrote that continued fan patronage was more important than ever because the black leagues had become a breeding ground for major league talent. After decades of being sold on the quality of the black game, fans were being urged in paternalistic tones to get behind a diminishing product for the greater good of the race or, in another writer's words, for the American way of life. *Courier* columnist Mal Goode lamented the loss of black business ownership with the death of the Negro leagues, but wrote that the gain was "greater – we got our self-respect back – and you have to have been black to understand what we meant."[66] Anticipating Robinson's first action in a Dodger uniform in Ebbets Field, Smith wrote it would be a day he could truthfully say, "Mine Eyes Have Seen the Golry! [*sic*]"[67] Any hint of sympathy for most black players was missing in coverage.

Black papers wanted their cake and the luxury of eating it, too, chronicling seemingly Robinson's every move but simultaneously pleading with fans not to let black baseball fade away. Longtime radio man Jack Saunders wrote a column in a September 1948 *Courier* celebrating the new big leaguers, but begging readers to support black baseball's:

> For God's sakes, fans, don't let Negro baseball die . . . I know you want to see (Robinson, Doby, and Campanella) play . . . I, too, make a bee-line for Shibe Park whenever the Dodgers and Indians come to town . . . But if Negro fans don't start supporting those teams again, they will fold up! . . . The way I see it, Negro fans are doing Negro baseball, future Negro stars and potential major leaguers a great injustice by withdrawing their support . . . How will major league scouts be able to look over Negro material if there are no Negro teams playing?[68]

The utilitarian view of the press toward the Negro leagues, which had to continue supplying black talent, was motivated, at least in part, by the goal of guaranteeing full status for blacks. Equality was the goal, Wendell Smith frequently wrote. In June of Robinson's first season, the Dodgers were playing in Boston on Memorial Day, inspiring Smith to parallel Robinson's "blow at big league hypocrisy" with Revere's ride "to fight those who would deny them the rights of America."[69] When Robinson first saw action in white baseball, playing for Montreal in April 1946, the headline for the *Courier*'s front page read, "American Way Triumphs in Robinson 'Experiment,'" and it was accompanied by verse from Robert Browning declaring, "God's in His Heaven – All's right with the world!"[70]

In the black press' new economy, Robinson was part of a noble experiment and the Negro leagues merely a farm system to be judged on its crops. The currency in this new economy was progress toward full access and full rights. In 1947 alone, Bill Veeck and the

Cleveland Indians paid the Negro league's Newark Eagles $15,000 for the contract of Larry Doby, who integrated the American League in July 1947, the St. Louis Browns shelled out $20,000 for two Monarch players, and Branch Rickey acquired the contracts of pitchers Roy Partlow (from the Philadelphia Stars) and Don Newcombe (from the Eagles), both "bargains" at $2,000 apiece. "Obviously, there is gold in them thar bronze stars," Smith proclaimed.[71] This "bargain basement" sale of players could be viewed as a final, self-immolating exploitation by Negro league team owners and the beginning of players' exploitation by major league owners. Rickey, after all, paid the Monarchs nothing for Robinson. The Giants tried the same with their first black player, Monte Irvin, but backed down to Eagles' owners Abe and Effa Manley.

'Get your house in order'

Branch Rickey defended his decision not to pay the Monarchs for Robinson with the claim that "there is no Negro league as such as far as I am concerned. Negro baseball is in the zone of a racket and there is not a circuit that could be admitted to organized baseball."[72] If no Negro league existed, there could be no contractual obligation requiring Rickey to pay the Monarchs for Robinson's services.

It is easy to imagine a pre-Robinson black press rushing to the defense of Negro league owners, demanding compensation for top players and holding Chandler accountable for baseball's Jim Crow legacy. It did not happen. The response was the opposite. The *Courier* and *Defender* used banner headlines to proclaim Chandler's charges, columns to echo and support his demands and to again list what the writers believed to be the problems plaguing the black leagues.

Press antagonism later became more activist. After Rickey's decision not to compensate the Monarchs, Negro league officials had hoped to forge some type of formal relationship with big league baseball, perhaps an arrangement akin to minor league affiliation, and had petitioned major league commissioner A.B. Happy Chandler to that end.[73] But an unlikely alliance against Negro league owners was formed by Rickey, Chandler, and the black press. In a seminal meeting with Negro league officials in January 1946 following Robinson's signing by the Dodgers, Chandler baldly told black baseball to, "Get your house in order." He said that before major league baseball would even consider an affiliation with the Negro leagues, the latter would have to evidence vast improvements in leadership, organization, and in fiscal management. [74]

With the major leagues freshly integrated and powerful voices criticizing the Negro leagues, the black press had an opportunity to distance itself from black baseball by blaming the black leagues for slides in attendance. After a difficult 1948 season and in anticipation of the 1949 campaign, Smith wrote it was the year that would determine the black leagues' future. Hinting at his own prediction, he referred to the game as "burlesque" acted out as a "corny routine," monotonous and illegitimate, wondering:

> whether we are going to have it in the same gaudy colors and the identical, corny routine. The stage is set and the audience is waiting for the show to go on. The shows in the past haven't been anything to write home about. The theme has been monotonous at times and there have been instances when the cash customers have gotten up and gone home because they refused to accept burlesque after being promised legitimate acts.[75]

For Smith, Negro league play was like bad theater. For the *Defender's* Fay Young, it was like bad food, making the black press like cooks forced to dish it out. Don't blame the cooks for the bad reviews, blame those supplying the food, Young advised.[76] When officials failed to punish the Newark Eagles for disputing an umpire's call by walking off the field, the failure to act was for Wendell Smith evidence that Rickey was right – the league must not actually exist.[77] In his weekly column, Smith responded to Chandler's charge for the Negro leagues to get their house in order by indicting black owners for being more interested in the "preservation of their shaky, littered, infested segregated baseball domicile" and a "perpetuation of the slave trade they had developed" than in improving the status of the black ball player.[78] Despite a segregation-forced existence, black owners were characterized by an erstwhile brother in the fight as "slave traders." It is difficult to imagine a more stinging rebuke.

Shifting blame to "foolish" and "whining" owners

In June 1947, as interest in and coverage of Negro league baseball was trending down, Smith claimed that no one in either league was willing to keep the public informed, thus excusing the *Courier*'s omission of regular and comprehensive league coverage.[79] The press and the public had been forgotten due to the inability of the leagues to funnel information to the black papers. It was this failure that threatened to crack the very foundation of Negro baseball, not the *Courier's* shift in allocation of resources to the major leagues. Those who claimed integration as the cause of their woes at the turnstiles were simply dodging the issue. The *Defender's* Fay Young also used his weekly column to grill Negro league teams for failing to supply the news and to defend coverage of Larry Doby and Jackie Robinson.

> We haven't any white complex. When the news is of importance, it gets space – the same is of pictures. The columns are not for sale. Our business is to cater to John Q. Public, who buys the newspaper, not to the promoter or the coach. But when either the publicity man, the coach or the promoter fails to get us the news when we want it, the kind we want and the pictures – he is a very foolish man.[80]

The *Courier*'s W. Rollo Wilson, once briefly the Negro leagues' commissioner, listed the leagues' problems as having too many poor ball clubs, fat player salaries, and a surplus of old players, among other ills.[81] And in anticipation of a meeting of league officials, the *Courier* predicted in an unbylined article that these "many evils" would not be corrected, evils that also included the lack of a commissioner, club owners with conflicting interests serving as league presidents, the absence of a farm system, the need for territorial rights, excessive booking fees, and free-lance umpires with no accountability to the league offices.[82]

Prodigal brother

In addition to criticizing, the black press invalidated the Negro leagues with its silence, as well. In July 1947, for example, *Courier* coverage praised Veeck and major league baseball for the signing of Larry Doby. No mention was made of the fact that Newark lost their all-time home run king nor of the economic impact the loss would have on the Eagles.[83] In fact, when Effa Manley complained of losses of $20,000 in part because of Doby's departure, she was, in Smith's words, "crying the blues. . . . What (the owners) must realize is that the 'boom' is over and they'll now have to cut salaries and everything else if they expect to keep going." It was advice he would repeat several times during the 1947 season.[84]

The 13 September issue of the *Courier* was emblematic of the shift in coverage. The paper ran a single, six-inch story on the Cleveland Buckeyes winning the Negro American League pennant while providing blanket Dodger coverage: a page one promo, a page two advance on the Dodgers road trip to St. Louis, a story on Don Newcombe's ailing wife, a story on Roy Campanella's International League-leading statistics, and a story on the Chicago Cubs' manager's praise of Jackie Robinson.

In October 1948, the *Defender* used an eight-column, banner headline on its front page to promote the first game for Larry Doby and Satchel Paige as major leaguers. In that same issue, one nine-inch story on page 12 represented all the paper's coverage of the Homestead Grays' Negro League World Series title over the Birmingham Black Barons.[85]

In October 1947, Jackie Robinson's game-winning home run in the World Series was front-page news for the *Defender* and subject of three page-one photos, a 21-inch bylined article, and extended coverage on the sports pages.[86] In contrast, the Cubans winning the Negro World Series against Cleveland in five games was buried on page-10 in an eight-inch article. The *Defender* also put the following stories on page one that season: the signing of Robinson by the Dodgers in April, Robinson's popularity among fans in May, Larry Doby's signing by the Indians and the St. Louis Browns obtaining Willard Brown and Henry Thompson in July, the major leagues scouting eight Negro league players in August, and the progress of the Dodgers' Dan Bankhead, also in August. No stories on the Negro leagues appeared on the *Defender's* front page that season.[87]

A microcosm

The *Scoreboard* columns of Joe Bostic in Harlem's *The People's Voice* represent in microcosm the evolution in perspective, philosophy, and advocacy among black press writers regarding the Negro leagues. In a matter of months, Bostic's columns go from almost unqualified support to finger pointing to neglect and finally abandonment. In 1942, Bostic was unequivocal in defending the Negro leagues as a critical part of the black community's economy and culture. In an 11 July column that year, Bostic said it comes down to money:

> Since all baseball prognostications are made under the sign of the dollar mark . . . why shouldn't the fledgling that is Negro organized baseball take the same attitude. The whole (integration) discussion breaks down into the query, 'Would Negro baseball profit or lose by the entry of Negroes into the American and National leagues?' *Scoreboard* feels that the net result would be written in red ink on the ledgers of Negro baseball.[88]

Like many other black sportswriters, Bostic would later re-prioritize, putting the democratic ideal of equal treatment and opportunity before monetary practicality. Less than three years after arguing against killing black baseball, in April 1945 Bostic very publicly called for and obtained a tryout with the Dodgers for two black players. The Dodger brain trust of Branch

Rickey and Clyde Sukeforth put the players through the drills, but signed neither. Still, that the "first official tryout" occurred was, for Bostic, "the most momentous single adventure in the fight of Negroes for entry into the major leagues."[89]

Wendell Smith also zigged and zagged, switching from see-no-evil support of the Negro leagues in the 1930s and early '40s to impassioned support for Robinson in the mid-40s. Smith even gave Robinson his own column, which Smith ghostwrote.[90] In the 1950s, Smith sought absolution for abandoning the black game.[91] As early as late 1949, nostalgia was creeping into Smith's weekly columns. He wrote of the "cherished days" of the roaring twenties when Rube Foster ruled the black baseball world, putting it "on its feet." In February 1950, in a column titled, "Negro Baseball Won't Give Up," Smith wrote that it would be "tragic if Negro baseball disappears from the sports scene," a sentiment he repeated in several columns of the 1950s.[92] After the 1950 season, Smith called the Negro baseball picture "much brighter today," a description supported by fellow *Courier* columnist Ric Roberts, who even pointed to a "colored baseball comeback."[93]

By mid-1950, when still only five major league teams had been integrated, the harsh criticism and scorn had faded and was replaced with pity. Smith described black baseball as the "orphan" of the sport, and an illegitimate one at that, and a "waif" born by necessity and sponsored by the "curious and the fanatical."[94] In August of that year, the Negro leagues' talent pool was deemed "dry," drained by major league teams.[95] The obituary in process, Smith followed a year later with a celebration of the contributions by black baseball, the "garden spot" for talent:

> Every single Negro player in the big leagues is a graduate of either the Negro American or National Leagues. Ninety per cent of the Negro players in the minors also came from those two circuits. In other words, in the space of six years, the Negro leagues have sent a million

> dollars worth of ebony talent to the majors and three top minor leagues.[96]

Smith's nostalgia for better days was in full swing by late in the Negro American League's disastrous 1951 season, a campaign that proved financially lethal for four of the league's ten teams. In anticipation of the nineteenth East-West Classic, Smith used his column to say, "Thanks to Negro baseball . . . for the part they have played in lifting the Negro player from a state of bondage to a state of respectability in the sports world." Nostalgia for black baseball's glory days, a nostalgia that became a big business in the late 1990s,[97] became institutionalized in 1957 with the start of a campaign to get former Negro league players into the Baseball Hall of Fame.[98]

Conclusions

Just before Robinson was signed, an August 1945 issue of the *Courier* published its Negro Press Creed: "The Negro Press strives to help every man in the firm belief that all are hurt so long as anyone is held back."[99] Team owners, however, were businesspeople with much more to lose than the newspapers by that creed's fulfillment in baseball. Criticizing this will to survive beyond integration, the black press took a paternal, highly critical stance toward its erstwhile brother in the fight against segregation, urging the leagues to straighten up, mind their manners, and honor those who had invited their players to the feast.

The rhetoric reflected no sympathy with the dilemma team owners faced choosing between the American ideals of democracy and capitalism. Newark's Effa Manley, for example, spoke for owners when she said integration "squeezed" them "between intransigent racial considerations on one hand and cold business reasoning on the other."[100] Sportswriters instead echoed the stern, fatherly "advice" of major league luminaries Chandler and Rickey, among others, to the Negro leagues to get their house in order and begin behaving as a legitimate league.

As integration continued, albeit ever so slowly, leaving black baseball further and further behind, writers like Bostic, Young, and Smith became somewhat nostalgic. Their writing at times at times resembled the rhetoric of grandfathers sitting on a porch reminiscing of the good old days, a golden era when 50,000 packed Comiskey Park for a summer all-star game, when Satchel Paige had his infielders put down their gloves before striking out the side, when Josh Gibson hit 'em harder and farther than even the great Babe Ruth.[101]

The nostalgia evidenced in the writings of the black sportswriters of the mid-1950s and later point to a process and a problem central to American culture, particularly in the racially charged 1950s and 1960s. To preserve the flower of self-determination – in this case the Negro leagues – would have been to limit the opportunities of blacks, to perpetuate disenfranchisement and subordination, and, ultimately, to sell short democracy and the American way of life. Achieving these larger societal goals, however, comes with the pain of watching the flower die on the vine. Regret and guilt are evident in the black press of the 1950s, signaled by desperate, inevitably failed season-long attempts by the *Courier* and the *Defender* to revive the Negro leagues through national talent searches.[102]

It could be argued that off the field there are in the twenty-first century fewer opportunities for blacks in professional baseball than at any point on the Negro leagues' topsy-turvy timeline. Dave Stewart, who is black, served for three years as assistant general manager for the Toronto Blue Jays. In November 2001, when the general manager slot opened up only to be filled with a man many said clearly was less qualified.

Stewart resigned his post and left town. "The whole process is a waste of time," Stewart told the *New York Times*. "For me, the process is disappointing and I'm very discouraged by how things are going in the area of minority hirings."[103] The major leagues had only one minority general manager in 2001. Ethnic discrepancy in management exists in professional sports, in general.

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[1] Rob Ruck, *Baseball in Pittsburgh* (Cleveland: Society for American Baseball Research, 1993), 21. Those larger were insurance and numbers games, which were forerunners to lotteries.

[2] There were exceptions to black ownership, most notably J.L. Wilkinson, who owned the Kansas City Monarchs and was a founding member of the Negro National League. Another prominent white owner was Syd Pollock of the Indianapolis Clowns, who ran the club out of upstate New York (Richard Ian Kimball, "Beyond the 'Great Experiment:' Integrated Baseball Comes to Indianapolis," *Journal of Sport History 26*, No. 1 (Spring 1999): 154. Several of New York's teams, too, had white ownership at various stages of their histories, as did the Baltimore Black Sox.

[3] Joe Bostic, *The People's Voice*, July 11, 1942.

[4] Robert Peterson, *Only the Ball Was White* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 197.

[5] Donn Rogosin, *Invisible Men* (New York: Kodansha, 1995), 19.

[6] Jim Bankes, *The Pittsburgh Crawfords* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland Press, 2001), 126. The two that made money in 1947 were the Cleveland Buckeyes and the New York Cubans.

[7] Paul Dickson, *The Dickson Baseball Dictionary* (New York: Avon Books, 1989), 272.

[8] Paul Debono, *Indianapolis ABCs: History of a Premier Team in the Negro Baseball Leagues* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland Press, 1997), 127. The Clowns were known for their shadow ball and clown acts before games, but were also often at the top of the league standings (*Chicago Defender*, 21 July 1945, 9). For more on the Clowns' history and integration, see Kimball, "Beyond the 'Great Experiment:' Integrated Baseball Comes to Indianapolis."

[9] Brian Carroll, "*The Black Press and the Integration of Baseball: A content analysis of changes in coverage*" (unpublished manuscript, 2001). The paper includes results of a content analysis empirically comparing coverage by the black press of the Negro leagues and the major leagues before and after Jackie Robinson broke in with the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947.

[10] Phil Dixon and Patrick J. Hannigan, *The Negro Baseball Leagues: A Photographic History* (Mattituck, NY: Amereon House, 1992), 123. Rube Foster invited several owners of Midwestern black teams and sportswriters from the *Indianapolis Freeman*, *Indianapolis Ledger*, and the *Chicago Defender* to Kansas City, Mo., to found the Negro National League.

[11] For one example, the Indianapolis Clowns and coverage in the *Indianapolis Ledger*, see Debono, *Indianapolis ABCs: History of a Premier Team in the Negro Baseball Leagues*, 121.

[12] See Albert Dennis Mathewson, "Major league baseball's monopoly power and the Negro Leagues," *American Business Law Journal* 35, no. 2 (1998): 291-318; Walter Leavy, "50 Years of Blacks in Baseball," *Ebony* (June 1995): 38; Jules Tygiel, *Baseball's great experiment: Jackie Robinson and his legacy* (New York: Vintage, 1997), 14; Mark Ribowsky, *A Complete History of the Negro Leagues, 1884-1955* (New York: Carol Publishing House); Donn Rogosin, *Invisible Men;* Robert Peterson, *Only the Ball Was White: A History of Legendary Black Players and All-Black Professional Teams* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

[13] Janet Bruce, *The Kansas City Monarchs, Champions of Black Baseball.* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1985). Bruce estimated that during the boom years of the early and mid-1940s, the Negro leagues took in $2 million annually (p. 127).

[14] Dixon and Hannigan, *The Negro Baseball Leagues: A Photographic History*, 307.

[15] See David Wiggins, "Wendell Smith, The *Pittsburgh Courier-Journal* and the Campaign to Include Blacks in Organized Baseball, 1933-1945," *Journal of Sport History 10*, no. 2 (1989): 5-29; Wiggins, *Glory bound: black athletes in a white America.* Syracuse (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 80-103; Chris Lamb and Glen Bleske, "Covering the integration of baseball – a look back," *Editor & Publisher, 27* (January 1996): 48-50; Chris Lamb and Glen Bleske, "Democracy on the field," *Journalism History 24*, no. 2 (1998): 51-59; Bill L. Weaver, "The Black Press and the Assault on Professional Baseball's 'Color Line,' October 1945-April 1947," *Phylon XL*, No. 4 (1979): 303-317; Brian Carroll, "Wendell Smith's Last Crusade: The

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Desegregation of Spring Training," *The14th Cooperstown Symposium on Baseball and American Culture*, ed. William Simons (Jefferson, NC: McFarland Press), 123-135.

[16] Neil J. Sullivan, "Baseball and Race: The Limits of Competition," *Journal of Negro History. v. 83*, no. 3 (1998): 168. Five years after Robinson broke the color barrier, most major league teams had yet to sign up their first black player. Full integration of the National League, begun by Robinson and the Dodgers, required eleven seasons, with Philadelphia signing John Kennedy in 1957. Boston's Red Sox were the last to integrate, promoting Elijah Green in July 1959. See also Laura Randolph, "Bill White: National League President," *Ebony v. 47*, no 10 (August 1992): 52. White became the first black to head a major sports league in 1989 when he became the highest –ranking official in the history of baseball, forty-two years after Robinson's big break.

[17] Lillian Scott, "Effa Manley Hotter Than Horse Radish," *Chicago Defender*, 18 September 1948, 12. For more on Manley, a colorful and courageous team owner, activist, and philanthropist, see James Overmyer, *Queen of the Negro Leagues: Effa Manley and the Newark Eagle*, (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Trade, 1998), 243.

[18] Ribowsky, *A Complete History of the Negro Leagues, 1884-1955*, 7.

[19] Fay Young, "Through the Years," *Chicago Defender*, 22 May 1948, 12; Lillian Scott, "Effa Manley 'Hotter Than Horse Radish,'" *Chicago Defender*, 18 September 1948, 12; Fay Young, "Fay Says," *Chicago Defender*, 18 September 1948, 12; Wendell Smith, "The Sports Beat," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 14 June 1947, 14. Also see the *Baltimore Afro-American's* Ric Roberts describing the Negro leagues as "horse and buggy leagues" in Ribowsky, p. 250.

[20] Carroll, "Wendell Smith's Last Crusade: The Desegregation of Spring Training."

[21] Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1962), 795. Both the *Defender* and the *Pittsburgh Courier* published editions covering many parts of the country, thus "achieving more or less national distribution," according to Mott.

[22] Ribowsky, 23. See also John B. Holway, *Blackball Stars: Negro League Pioneers* (Westport, Conn.: Meckler Books, 1988).

[23] Sol White, *History of Colored Base Ball* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 74. In 1907, White wrote perhaps the first history of black baseball, *Sol White's Official Base Ball Guide*. A black ballplayer himself, as well as a successful manager and, later, author, White wrote his slim volume and had it published by H. Walter Schlichter, a white sportswriter with the *Philadelphia Item*, who also served as president of the National Association of Colored Base Ball Clubs of the United States and Cuba. Schlichter also was president and manager of the Philadelphia Giants, a black baseball team in the early 1900s.

[24] Ribowsky, xiv.

[25] *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 26, 1947, 14. Robinson and Horne were part of the East-West all-star game gala at Comiskey Park, Chicago, the home of the Chicago White Sox.

[26] Quoted in Janet Bruce's *The Kansas City Monarchs*, 3.

[27] Rogosin, 22-23.

[28] Rogosin, 34-35.

[29] Debono, 44.

[30] Jerry Malloy, "The Pittsburgh Keystones and the 1887 Colored League, Baseball in Pittsburgh," *Baseball in* Pittsburgh, (Cleveland: Society for American Baseball Research, 1995), 49. Brown also owned the Pittsburgh Keystones, one of the more successful early black teams.

[31] Malloy, in White, xxxviii.

[32] Black teams frequently named themselves "Giants," and until extinction. It is believed to be a tribute to the New York Giants, the National League's perennial powerhouse managed by John McGraw, whose public support of integration and sometimes subversive attempts to put a black player on his roster won him a great deal of support in the black community. Black teams included Chicago American Giants, New York Cuban Giants, New York X-Giants, Baltimore Giants, and Philadelphia Giants.

[33] Malloy in White, xlvi.

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[34] Ibid., Malloy in White, xvi.

[35] Dixon and Hannigan, 123. Present at the Feb. 14, 1920, organizational meeting of the Negro National League were David Wyatt and A.D. Williams of the *Ledger*, Elwood C. Knox of the *Freeman*, Gary Lewis of the *Defender*, and C.A. Franklin of the *Call*.

[36] *Pittsburgh Courier*, 13 December 1924; "Baseball Men End 2-Day Meeting, 14 Player Limit Is Put Into Effect," *Chicago Defender*, 14 January 1928, Part 2, Page 9, city edition.

[37] Bruce, 19.

[38] Bruce, 21, quoting the *Kansas City Call*, 27 July 1928.

[39] Bruce, 22, and *Kansas City Call*, 28 October 1932.

[40] *Pittsburgh Courier*, 6 April 1930.

[41] Debono, 45.

[42] Dixon and Hannigan, 121.

[43] *Pittsburgh Courier*, 6 April 1947, 17.

[44] *Pittsburgh Courier*, 2 February 1946, 12.

[45] *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 1946, 14.

[46] *Chicago Defender*, March-October 1945.

[47] Ribowsky, 8.

[48] Jim Reisler, *Black writers/black baseball: An anthology of articles from black sportswriters who covered the negro leagues* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1994), 2.

[49] Frank Young, *Chicago Defender*, 9 September 1939, 20.

[50] Bruce, 45.

[51] Bruce, 123, quoting *Kansas City Call*, 27 February 1953.

[52] Bruce, 100, quoting the *Call's* editor, Chester A. Franklin. See also Wendell Smith, *Pittsburgh Courier*, 24 March 1945, 12. Smith used Roosevelt's public statements of support of the national pastime as opportunities to call on F.D.R. also to force baseball to adopt the same fair employment practices the president demanded in government. See also Bruce, p. 100. As Bruce points out, big league teams could switch from their own buses to public transportation in most cases. Negro league teams, which often played on vastly inferior fields inconvenient to a subway stop, were not so fortunate. Their buses were their lifeblood.

[53] Ribowsky, 176.

[54] *Pittsburgh Courier*. 7 July 26 1947, 14.

[55] *Pittsburgh Courier*, 21 July 1945, 12.

[56] Wendell Smith, "Americans Too Good for Spiritless East; 31,714 See Classic," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 4 August 1945, 12.

[57] Fay Young, *Chicago Defender*, 17 August 1946, 1 and 9.

[58] Reisler, 13.

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[59] Sam Lacy, *Baltimore Afro-American*, 12 August 1939. Harris was right. A total of fifty-six players moved from Negro leagues to major league teams. Many more played in the minor leagues, but of 500 on Negro league rosters, only about 10 percent found work in the big leagues (Dixon and Hannigan, *The Negro Baseball Leagues: A Photographic History*, 307).

[60] Dixon and Hannigan, 297.

[61] Carroll, "*The Black Press and the Integration of Baseball: What to do with the Negro Leagues?*," 126.

[62] Dixon and Hannigan, 325.

[63] *Pittsburgh Courier*, 31 May 1947, 15.

[64] *Pittsburgh Courier*, 3 May 1947, 14.

[65] Fay Young, "Through the Years," *Chicago Defender*, 8 May 1948, 11. The column was prefaced with an anonymous poem, "The Purpose of Life," which reads: "If you never made another have a happier time in life; If you've never helped a *brother* (emphasis added) through the struggle and his strife; If you've never been a comfort to the weary and the worn – Will you tell us what you're here for in this lovely land of morn?"

[66] Quoted in Ruck, 23.

[67] *Pittsburgh Courier*, 11 May 1946, 12.

[68] *Pittsburgh Courier*, 9 April 1948, 10.

[69] *Pittsburgh Courier*, 7 June 1947, 12.

[70] William G. Nunn, *Pittsburgh Courier*, 27 April 1946, 1.

[71] *Pittsburgh Courier*, 26 July 1947, 14.

[72] *Pittsburgh Courier*, 3 August 1946, 14; Frank A. Young, "Robinson Not The First Negro Signed To Play in White Organized Baseball," *Chicago Defender*, 27 October 1945, p. 9.

[73] Wendell Smith, *Pittsburgh Courier*, 17 November 1946, 10. According to Smith, the Negro leagues called on Chandler to major league baseball from raiding the black teams. In a letter drafted at New York's Theresa Hotel, the officials said they were "protesting the way" Robinson was signed, explaining that black teams had "gone to so much expense to develop players and establish teams and leagues."

[74] *Pittsburgh Courier*, 26 January 1946, 16.

[75] Wendell Smith, "Sports Beat," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 14 May 1948, 14.

[76] Fay Young, "Fay Says," *Chicago Defender*, 18 September 1948, 12.

[77] Wendell Smith, "Sports Beat," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 3 August 1946, 14. The Eagles were playing the Cleveland Buckeyes. After an official's call against them, the Eagles left the field in dispute, ending the game.

[78] Wendell Smith, *Pittsburgh Courier*, 26 January 1946, 16.

[79] Wendell Smith, *Pittsburgh Courier*, 14 June 1947, 14.

[80] *Chicago Defender*, 22 May 1948, 12.

[81] Wilson, *Pittsburgh Courier*, 4 October 1947, 14.

[82] *Pittsburgh Courier*, 22 December 1945, 16, and 16 February 1946, 12.

[83] *Pittsburgh Courier*, 12 July 1947, 1 and 14.

[84] *Pittsburgh Courier*, 6 September 1947, 14. See also 20 September 1947, 14, and 4 October 1947, 12.

[85] Fay Young, 9 Oct. 1948, *Chicago Defender*, 1 and 12.

[86] Fay Young, 4 October 1947, *Chicago Defender*, 1 and 10.

[87] Fay Young, "Robinson Plays Flawless Ball With Brooklyn Dodgers Club," 19 April 1947, *Chicago Defender*, 1; Fay Young, "Fate of Jackie Robinson in Hands of Fans," 17 May 1947, 1; Fay Young, "Cleveland Seeks 2nd Negro Player," 5 July 1947, 1; "St. Louis Browns Sign 2 Negro Players," 12 July 1947, 1; Fay Young, "Big Leagues Scout 8 Negro Players," 2 August 1947, 1; Fay Young, "Toughest Spot in Baseball History," 30 August 1947, 1.

[88] Joe Bostic, *The People's Voice*, 11 July 1942.

[89] Ibid, Joe Bostic, *The People's Voice*, April 14, 1945.

[90] Robinson's first first-person column began in the 5 April 1947 issue of the *Pittsburgh Courier* (p. 14) and continued weekly throughout that first season with the Dodgers. In the 24 May issue, "The Robinson Box Score," a weekly feature, was added to present Robinson's weekly statistics and season-to-date totals. In the 31 May issue, two more weekly features were added: "Dodger Dust," a collection of notes about the Dodgers' season, such as, "the train was two hours late getting into New York from St. Louis;" and "Diamond Confetti," game notes from the previous week, such as Robinson hitting his first home run at the Polo Grounds.

[91] Smith, "Sports Beat," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 17 June 1950, 14; Smith, "Sports Beat," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 26 August 1950, 14; Smith, "Sports Beat," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 1 June 1951, 12.

[92] Smith, "Sports Beat," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 18 February 1950, 22. See also columns of 16 December 1950 (p. 24) and 11 August 1951 (p. 14).

[93] Ric Roberts, "Homestead Grays Still 'Example,'" *Pittsburgh Courier*, 22 July 1950, 24.

[94] Smith, "Sports Beat," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 17 June 1950, 14.

[95] Smith, "Sports Beat," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 26 August 1950, 14.

[96] Smith, "Sports Beat," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 1 June 1951, 12.

[97] "Flaws in the Diamonds," *The Economist v. 342*, No. 8000 (18 January 1997): 81.

[98] Ribowsky, 316. The author credits Joe Williams of the *New York World-Telegram & Sun* for launching this campaign, which ultimately resulted in inductions into the Hall beginning in 1971 with Satchel Paige, a unanimous choice. After the August 2001 induction, eighteen Negro leaguers and two black sportswriters – Wendell Smith and Sam Lacy – could be found in the Hall (National Baseball Hall of Fame Web site, accessed (8 December 2001) at http://www.baseballhalloffame.org/hofers%5Fand%5Fhonorees/spink%5Fbios/index.htm.)

[99] *Pittsburgh Courier*, 11 August 1945, 7.

[100] Effa Manley and Leon Hardwick, *Negro Baseball Before Integration* (New York: Adams, 1976), 72.

[101] According to more than one account, Gibson became the only player to hit a ball out of Yankee Stadium in the 1931 championship series between Gibson's Homestead Grays and the Lincoln Giants of New York. Ruth hit many and he hit them hard, but never out of Yankee Stadium (see Ribowsky, 152).

[102] "Baseball School Welcomes Negroes," *Chicago Defender*, 10 April 1948, 10; "Defender School Will Train Boys For Baseball," *Chicago Defender*, 18 September 1948, 1; Wendell Smith, "Courier Unleashes Talent Hunt," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 15 May 1948, 13, in which Smith calls it the "Greatest Baseball Talent Hunt in History to Be Sponsored by the Courier Sports Department With Thousands of Readers Serving as Scouts;" Smith, "Find a New Star And Win $100!," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 22 May 1948, 15; "N.C. Coach Joins Big 'Talent Hunt,'" *Pittsburgh Courier*, 29 May 1948, 15; Smith, "Find a New Star! You'll Win $100," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 5 June 1948, 13; Smith, "The Sports Beat," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 2 October 1948, 10.

[103] Murray Chass, *New York Times*, 15 November 2001, S-4.

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Literature to Form a More Perfect Union

An Examination of the Anti-Saloon League of America's Early Messages and Methods Through a Framework of Public Relations History

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Presented to the History Division of AEJMC
Miami, Florida
August 2002

The Anti-Saloon League of America (ASLA) was a church-based social reform movement whose work for National Prohibition became nationally prominent during the 1910s, through the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919, and up to the repeal of Prohibition in 1933. Scholars have studied the League as a political pressure group, as a cause of Prohibition, as a product of the Progressive Movement, as an integral element of reform, as the culmination of more than one hundred years of temperance activity, and as a last gasp for moral domination.[1] Given the ways in which many have shown how the Anti-Saloon League was intertwined with the Progressive Movement, however, it is surprising that the League's communications have not been studied to determine whether they reflected what Robert Wiebe called the Movement's increasing use of "moral suasion to excellent effect."[2]

The purpose of this paper, and of the larger study from which it has been excerpted, is to expand the literature of current public relations history, which is grounded in a World War I era business orientation based largely in New York. By examining the ASLA, a Midwestern social reform movement whose messages and methods were largely in place long before such PR pioneers as Edward Bernays and John Hill hung out their shingles, it will be shown that regardless of the labels applied to their tactics, the League was employing ideas that are considered today to be basic principles of public relations.

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[1] See, for example, Peter H. Odegard, *Pressure Politics: The Story of the Anti-Saloon League* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928); James H. Timberlake, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963); Jack S. Blocker, Jr., *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform* (Boston: Twayne Publishers of G. K. Hall and Company, 1989); Norman H. Clark, *Deliver Us From Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition,* The Norton Essays in American History, ed. Harold M. Hyman (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1976); Andrew Sinclair, *Prohibition: The Era of Excess,* with a preface by Richard Hofstadter (Boston: Little, Brown and Company in association with The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1962); Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955); Stewart H. Holbrook, *Dreamers of the American Dream,* Mainstream of America Series, ed. Lewis Gannett (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1957); Joseph R. Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1963).

[2] Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Social Order, 1877-1920.* The Making of America, ed. David Donald (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 175.

Howard Hyde Russell

The founder and architect of the League's foundational messages and methods was Howard Hyde Russell, a Midwestern lawyer who had been called to the ministry in 1880. Russell's work in the ministry and in securing local option laws in Ohio ultimately led him to establish in 1893, with the support of the Oberlin, Ohio, Temperance Alliance, a statewide federation of temperance organizations called the Ohio Anti-Saloon League.[3] Two years later, Russell became the general superintendent of the newly formed Anti-Saloon League of America.

The organization of the ASLA was patterned after Russell's Ohio League and adapted to a national perspective: to focus the efforts of temperance organizations throughout the country on eliminating the saloons through local legislation and subsequent law enforcement. The ASLA sought to fulfill this purpose by establishing state Leagues which, in turn, would "carry the work to churches and to the homes of the people, thus arousing public sentiment on the question."[4] The single-minded purpose of the League cannot be overstated. In his first national conference report delivered in December of 1896, Russell quoted the League's Constitution, "The object of this League is *the suppression of the saloon.* To this end we invite the alliance of all who are in harmony with this object, and the League pledges itself to avoid affiliation with any political party as such, and to maintain an attitude of neutrality upon questions of public policy not directly and immediately concerned with the traffic in strong drink."[5]

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[3] Odegard, 3-4; Ernest Hurst Cherrington, Albert D. Porter, William Eugene Johnson, and Cora Frances Stoddard, *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem,* 6 vols. (Westerville, OH: American Issue Publishing Company, 1925-1930), 1:176

[4] *Standard Encyclopedia,* 1: 177.

Citizenship

In a speech to the International Convention of Christian Endeavor earlier that year, Russell had laid out how to work within the political system to produce change, mixing principles of democracy and self-government with a taste of old-time religion.[6] He began by establishing the work of the League as a war of good citizenship against bad citizenship, in which the objective was the "dethronement of the bosses and the pulverising [*sic*] of the rings and combines."[7] He emphasized to his audience that this work was as important to women as to men and that "whatever our individual opinion as to the wisdom of woman suffrage may be, it is now certain that the next century will behold the new woman endowed with all the rights and responsibilities of citizenship which men have heretofore not only denied to women but have themselves too often neglected." This statement set the stage for the League's utilitarian approach to woman's suffrage: it was concerned about women's votes only to the extent that they could aid the League's objectives for drying out the nation legislatively.

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[5] "Superintendent's Report [Rev. Howard H. Russell, LL.D., of Ohio, National Superintendent.]," *Proceedings 1896 National Anti-Saloon Convention, Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Saloon League, Washington, D.C., 8-10 Dec. 1896,* 14. [Original italics.]

[6] Howard Hyde Russell, "Christian Politics and the Saloon" (address to the International Convention of Christian Endeavor, Washington, D.C., 9 July 1896), roll 4 (folder 31), Howard Hyde Russell Series, Westerville Public Library (joint Ohio State Historical Society-Michigan Historical Collections-Woman's Christian Temperance Union microfilm edition).

[7] Russell, "Christian Politics," 2.

If dishonest politics gave the liquor interests their power, then, according to Russell, it was important to insert honest people into the political process and create "honest politics."[8] There were five ways to accomplish, all of which were to be "inter-partisan and omni-partisan."[9]. First, Russell said, replace the local bosses with chairmen who were there "not for the spoils, but for the sake of good social order."[10] Next, get involved in the primaries; do not wait for the final election. Third, participate in the casting of laws at the primaries, "this is where our laws have their genesis—in the kind and character of men chosen to represent the people at the place where the final work is done [state capitols]. . . . There is no treason we can more truly commit than to allow the nomination of dishonest boodlers who, when elected, will enact bad laws and refuse the enforcement of good ones."[11] Fourth, attend the party conventions. Here, Russell assured his audience that it was no longer considered a conflict for the ministry to involve itself in politics. People who complained otherwise, he said, were the "drunkard-makers and law breakers and their friends."[12] Finally, join the party organizing committee and help make the logistical decisions about where and when to hold conventions, primaries, and elections. In the meantime, though, Russell said, "educational work and public sentiment building" should be ongoing.[13]

Russell observed that while the liquor interests had organized into a tight, well-financed group that was "a terror to legislatures, councils and courts," the temperance groups were scattered, squabbling over methods, and "turning their guns away from the enemy and cross firing upon each other . . ."[14] And so he called for endurance and sacrifice: "O for a flash of heaven-sent inspiration that will set our souls aflame with zeal! . . . If there were no other calls to you for earnestness in this battle, the helpless children, orphaned by death and worse than orphaned by divorce, assaulted and maltreated by the cruel greed and outlawry of bad citizenship, should be enough to call you into action. Look about you! Is not this hell-sent curse at work in every place where the saloon is found?"[15]

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[8] Russell, "Christian Politics," 3.

[9] Russell, "Christian Politics," 7.

[10] Russell, "Christian Politics," 4.

[11] Russell, "Christian Politics," 5, 6.

[12] Russell, "Christian Politics," 6.

[13] Russell, "Christian Politics," 7.

Russell presented in this speech a template for how good citizens could insert themselves into the political process; today this plan would be considered as a grass-roots effort. The lawyer in him did it logically and clearly, supporting his arguments with examples. The minister in him burst forth in his call for action that popped with hellfire and melodrama. Both perspectives would be evident in the early ASLA literature.

Public Sentiment

The next year, Russell returned to the International Convention of Christian Endeavor. This time, his focus turned to the departmental structure of the ASLA. Unlike the previous year, when he saved his religious fervor until the closing, Russell peppered this speech with such references throughout. Early on, for example, he stated, "There can be, therefore, no better Kings-business for the Church of Jesus Christ than to destroy this most desolating work of the devil, the drunkard-making, heart-breaking, home-blasting, soul-damning, hell-crowding saloon.

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[14] Russell, "Christian Politics," 8, 9.

[15] Russell, "Christian Politics," 11, 12.

The churches have all declared war upon paper. No great power in history has ever uttered more unequivocal ultimatums against another great power than the Church versus the saloon."[16]

Then, Russell reverted to his lawyer style, logically explaining the ASLA structure. He began by reinforcing the omni-partisan and inter-denominational characteristics of the League's constituency and proceeded to describe what he called the ASLA's most important department, Agitation. He explained,

> The Anti-Saloon League is a public opinion building society. By the public union anti-saloon meeting regularly held, by the circulation of literature, by the organization of educational work in the public schools, in the pulpits, the young peoples societies and the Sunday Schools, we persistently press the agitation and keep the awful facts upon the hearts and consciences of the people, until a stern and determined public demand has been created and fostered to the pitch where the people of the community will not tolerate in their midst, a crime breeding, disease-engendering, poverty-producing saloon.[17]

Here, Russell implied that the purpose of the League's agitation efforts was to change the public's attitude toward the saloons as well as its behavior, presumably through increased involvement in the political process.

In the meantime, the ASLA's Enforcement Department worked to ensure that all existing laws were enforced, said Russell. He explained that until public sentiment was ready to fight for closing saloons forever, it was important to focus on the laws already in place. Russell discussed the League's "wedge principle" where a thin wedge is inserted and hammered "diligently."[18] He said, "If we cannot get the whole loaf or the whole baking, we will take a slice or a crust or a crumb, and will nourish the cause on half rations while we fight on for a full meal."[19] Again, Russell revealed the pragmatic nature of the League; despite the hyperbole, the ASLA was well aware of the need to align its actions with the level of existing public support. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the League kept pace with public sentiment; through agitation, public sentiment could be made to keep up with the League.

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[16] Howard Hyde Russell, "Christian Endeavor Versus the Saloon," 2 (address to the International Convention of Christian Endeavor, San Francisco, 8 July 1897), roll 4 (folder 32), Russell Series. [Original underscore.]

[17] Russell, "Christian Endeavor," 5-6.

[18] Russell, "Christian Endeavor," 6.

The third ASLA department was concerned with legislative matters. Although, at first, Russell explained that this pertained to the enforcement of current laws and the improvement or introduction of new ones, he also recounted stories of how a state League foiled the election of a politician supposedly financed by the liquor interests. Russell concluded, "The Anti-Saloon League is formed for the purpose of administering political retribution for such high crimes and misdemeanors against the home, the church and the state."[20] Thus, just four years into its existence, the ASLA not only sought to use the political system to advocate its own position, but to punish its opposition. Still, Russell reinforced the idea that it was not party affiliation that mattered but the level of involvement in the party: " . . . every member shall perform his citizenship functions in that party with which he affiliates; and this when carried out works a great revolution."[21]

While Russell named the Financial Department as the fourth cog in the ASLA's operations, he did not explain its function other than to note that the "home mission work is made one of the regular benevolences of all the churches."[22] That is, every year, the church members of the League requested pledges and donations from their congregations. He hastened to report the results of these contributions, explaining that the liquor interests were on their guard, the dry interests were rapidly gaining public support, and "it is more unpopular to drink alcohol and more disgraceful to keep a saloon than ever before."[23]

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[19] Russell, "Christian Endeavor," 6.

[20] Russell, "Christian Endeavor," 8.

[21] Russell, "Christian Endeavor," 7.

[22] Russell, "Christian Endeavor," 9.

True to what was becoming his form, Russell closed with a flourish: "I have made my vow to fight this arch-demon to the uttermost. Will you not vow likewise? I beg you, one and all, to gather close about me tonight and let us make oath together as did the brave clans of old."[24]

In this and later speeches, Russell acknowledged the influence of nineteenth century Boston abolitionist and social reformer Wendell Phillips in adopting the term "agitation." He explained that Phillips, "laid great stress upon this educational agency," using agitation to further law enforcement and to distribute facts that, in turn, could be a powerful force in effecting change.[25]

Phillips, who received a bachelor's degree in law from Harvard University in 1834 only to abandon it soon afterward to pursue social justice until his death in 1884, considered state legislation to be the route to social reform and equated abolitionists with defenders of democracy.[26] These were two ideas that Russell seemed to have embraced and incorporated into the ASLA's plan for the elimination of saloons. Additionally, although Phillips did not initially support the idea of direct political participation, he ran unsuccessfully for Massachusetts governor in 1870 as the candidate of the Labor and Prohibition parties.[27] Thus, the idea of Phillips's ultimate commitment to political involvement, which roughly coincided with the launching of Russell's professional life, also made its way into the ASLA plan.

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[23] Russell, "Christian Endeavor," 9.

[24] Russell, "Christian Endeavor," 11.

[25] Russell, "Christian Endeavor," 4.

[26] James Brewer Stewart, "Phillips, Wendell," in *The Reader's Companion to American History,* ed. Eric Foner and John A. Garraty (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1991), 836.

Today, the need to change attitudes and/or behaviors is a central premise of many public relations efforts.[28] Consider for example, public health campaigns that have focused on AIDS awareness, teen pregnancy, breast cancer, and the dangers of smoking, drinking, and taking drugs. All were designed to change attitudes toward a disease or a habit and then alter related behaviors. Although Russell did not speak in terms of publicity or press agentry, he was aware (1) of the need for attitude/behavior change and (2) that the ways to influence that change included education, literature, and credible sources (the church). That these ideas were expressed in 1897, or even earlier, if Phillips's influence is to be considered, underscores the need for public relations historians to look further into the past to understand where, when, and how certain activities became linked with certain expected outcomes—regardless of the label those activities may or may not have had.

In a later speech about the ASLA, Russell dropped much of his ministerial style in favor of a more businesslike tone, but his themes remained consistent.[29] He assured his audience that the ASLA did not require members to take an abstinence pledge. Then he repeated many of the ideas described in previous talks. For the purpose of this study, though, his emphasis on particular points should be noted,

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[27] Stewart, "Phillips, Wendell," 837.

[28] Fraser P. Seitel, *The Practice of Public Relations,* 7th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1998), 51-2; Scott M. Cutlip, Allen H. Center, and Glen R. Broom, *Effective Public Relations,* 8th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2000), 6.

[29] Howard Hyde Russell, "The Anti-Saloon League Movement," roll 4 (folder 28), Russell Series. This seems to be a "canned" speech, in which Russell would present the ASLA for state membership consideration. In this particular version, the state referred to is New York. Because Russell led the ASLA concurrently with the New York State League between 1899 and 1903, the date of this document is estimated to be between 1896 and 1899.

> . . . the bedrock of temperance reform is local public sentiment. . . . The task of temperance reformers is to *change the minds of people, both as to the habit and traffic*; and I submit it as common sense upon this question that this change in public sentiment can be brought about only by fair discussion, by agitation, and by education; and the churches of God are the best organizations to carry on this educational work for moral reform. What we are asking then, . . . is a greater activity in this reform in the three departments of church life of each church, the Sunday school, young peoples societies, and the pulpit.[30]

Again, Russell alluded to the way in which agitation would prompt the public to change its attitude about drunkenness and the saloons. Furthermore, given his subsequent comments in which he called those who refrained from entering the political fray "unfaithful citizens," because by staying away, they left the polls to the "salook [sic] keepers and gamblers," it is likely that he thought agitation could change behaviors as well.[31]

Later in this speech, Russell remarked that, in terms of enforcement and legislation, the ASLA "does not attempt to move any faster than public sentiment will justify."[32] But, as mentioned above, this did not imply that the League paced itself according to public sentiment, rather it may have forced public sentiment to keep up with the ASLA through its agitation activities. In a similar vein, he explained the importance of having full-time leadership in each state, despite the costs associated with doing so. Whereas the saloon keeper only needed to hire a bartender to free himself up for agitation, Russell said, League supporters tended to be volunteers who worked during the day and could not lend that kind of time to the movement. Thus, he said, the League leadership must consist of "consecrated men of tact and scholarship, who have no other work to engross their thought."

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[30] Russell, "Anti-Saloon League Movement," 5. [Italics added for emphasis.]

[31] Russell, "Anti-Saloon League Movement," 6.

[32] Russell, "Anti-Saloon League Movement," 6.

In a more detailed description of the League's fundraising system, Russell portrayed it as "simple and effective. . . . The support of the league in all the states is by a subscription card, affording an opportunity for men, women and young people to contribute so much a month, payable quarterly for a year. In this way we establish in each state an inter-denominational missionary treasury. The disbursement of these funds is under the oversight of a board of trustees, representative of all the various churches and organizations which contribute thereto."[33]

Field Days

This collection of the subscriptions often was scheduled through "Field Days," pre-established dates when representatives of the state and national Leagues would speak on the same day at churches in a specific area. A sample pledge form from New York State included in Peter Odegard's book allowed the church member to choose from among ten monthly pledge amounts, from thirty-three cents to five-hundred dollars, each to be paid every three months for a period of five years. It also asked the person to indicate whether he or she was a voter. Each person then completed a blank check provided by the League, indicating the bank name and filling in the amount to be paid; this amount was not a pledge but money to be donated on the spot. Once the cards were gathered, the state or national office would follow up with each member to collect the pledged amount quarterly.[34] Odegard noted that despite the increased bookkeeping costs this process incurred, the League much preferred receiving many smaller pledges from a greater number of people than larger amounts from fewer people.[35]

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[33] Russell, "Anti-Saloon League Movement," 8.

[34] Peter H. Odegard, *Pressure Politics: The Story of the Anti-Saloon League* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), 192-3.

The skill required of the Field Day speakers was twofold: to address the liquor problem and the work of the League and to generate subscriptions. For example, even by 1917, after the League had been holding Field Days for at least a decade, New York State Superintendent William H. Anderson complained to ASLA publisher Ernest Cherrington that the previous year's speakers had fallen short: "Further, I shall insist that no man shall be sent into the State to speak and pass the cards unless he has demonstrated his ability to pass the cards. You had some fellows in this State a year ago who were bright fellows on the speech but perfect 'mutts' on the financial end of it."[36]

One of the stars of the ASLA's fundraising efforts was Howard Hyde Russell. An excerpt from a 1919 financial appeal demonstrated his abilities, honed after more than a quarter of a century of soliciting funds for the League:

> And now we have come to you to get your help and co-operation in this great work. You are to have an opportunity, every one of you here to enroll separately. We like to have all the members of a family. . . . Everyone is invited. . . . As the cards are handed to the person at the end of each row, take one off the top and pass the rest on. . . . The enrollment means a responsibility and a privilege and an opportunity for different things. As soon as your enrollment card reaches our headquarters you will receive every week by Uncle Sam's help through the mail, a copy of our report of progress of the work, – and you will receive 'The American Issue' . . . we can correspond with you when we need your help with difficult situations, – your help with Members of Congress, to write to them and ask them to help us get some new Law that we need . . . In the next place we want to continue with the co-operation of our helpers the prayer that has been going up to Almighty God, all through the past years – the prayer for 'Help.'

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[35] Odegard, 193.

[36] William H. Anderson, Albany, New York, to Ernest H. Cherrington, Westerville, Ohio, LS, 24 April 1917, roll 76 (box 25, folder 2), Ernest H. Cherrington Series, Westerville Public Library (joint Ohio State Historical Society-Michigan Historical Collections-Woman's Christian Temperance Union microfilm edition).

> Put the cross mark in the little column on the left to indicate what you can give. . . . if it is convenient fill out a check now for the first three months at least, or put in cash. If your pledge is five dollars month, put in at least $15, if it is $1, put in $3, if it is 50¢, put in at least $1.50, . . . We try in all our meetings to pay the expenses of our meetings, so that what comes in the envelope goes into the Campaign.[37]

Thus, in one plea, Russell enlisted the congregation as "helpers" in the ASLA's work, giving them ownership in the cause. He explained the benefits of enrolling and, by mentioning Uncle Sam, reinforced the association between the League's work and the fundamental rights of democracy.[38] And, he called upon God to help the subscribers and the League in their work. Most importantly, though, he asked for action: first he asked the congregation to make a pledge, and then he asked them to make a donation then and there, explaining how their money would be spent.

Lincoln Legion

During this time, Russell also founded The Lincoln Legion, a national pledge program of abstinence targeted to young people. Foreshadowing Robert Wiebe's 1967 observation concerning the Progressive Movement's use of "moral suasion to excellent effect," Russell defined the Legion's pledge program as falling on the "moral suasion side of reform," signaling a "revival of Gospel Temperance and pledge signing in a united and general way."[39]

Temperance pledges were not a new idea. Dr. Billy J. Clark was said to have sponsored the first pledge-signing temperance society in America in 1808, followed by the American

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[37] Howard Hyde Russell, "Financial Appeal," ca. 1919, roll 4 (folder 35), Russell Series, 3-5, 7.

[38] By 1919, the League had strengthened this patriotic theme.

[39] Weibe, 175; Howard Hyde Russell, "League and Legion Tour," Speech given in Wellsville, New York, 7 June 1904, roll 4 (folder 33), Russell Series, 14.

Temperance Society in 1826 and the Washingtonians in 1840.[40] In terms of national impact, probably the greatest legacy of the Washingtonians was that in the group's short tenure it had revitalized the efforts of older temperance groups to legislate the liquor traffic in their states. For instance, historian Alice Felt Tyler found that due to local option laws in Boston, no liquor licenses were granted there between 1841 and 1852; by 1846, Maine had passed the country's first statewide prohibition law; and, by 1855, thirteen other states and territories had adopted some version of the Maine law.[41]

In terms of impact on the ASLA and on Howard Hyde Russell, in particular, however, the Washingtonians also provided a significant contribution to the prohibition movement through one of its spinoffs, the Sons of Temperance. This was a group of three million people, Abraham Lincoln among them, who pledged abstinence.[42] According to Legion chronicler Louis Albert Banks, Russell was inspired by meeting a man who, as a boy, said he had been pledged to temperance by Lincoln in the mid-1840s in Illinois.[43] Thus, at the turn of the century, Russell founded The Lincoln Legion with the support of state Leagues and other temperance workers.[44] Unlike the Washingtonian movement, the Legion's pledge program built in long-term commitment and membership. Recruits could pledge in one of three ways: for life, for a renewable limited term, and for children until they turned twenty-one or renewable for life after age fifteen. Russell resigned as general superintendent of the ASLA in 1903 at age 48, but he remained a powerful presence until his death in 1946 at age 90.

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[40] Odegard, 37-8.

[41] Tyler, 347-8.

[42] Louis Albert Banks, *The Lincoln Legion: The Story of Its Founders and Forerunners* (New York: The Mershon Company, 1903), 111; 224. For an in-depth study on how Lincoln came to be appropriated by the prohibition movement, see Richard F. Hamm, "The Prohibitionists' Lincoln," *Illinois Historical Journal* 86 (Summer 1993): 93-118.

[43] Banks, 32-3.

[44] Banks 232-4.

Purley A. Baker

If Howard Hyde Russell established the messages and methods through which the League would fulfill its goals, then his successor, Purley Albert Baker, could be described as building the infrastructure to support those messages and methods. Russell first had recruited Baker, a teacher and ordained Methodist minister from Jackson County, Ohio, to succeed him as superintendent of the Ohio League when the former moved to the ASLA in 1896.

Literature

Within two years of his appointment, General Superintendent Baker's report to the 1905 annual ASLA national conference listed twenty-seven state League newspapers printed with a combined circulation of 208,000, almost 58 million pages of literature published and distributed, and approximately 19,000 League-sponsored public meetings held.[45]

At the national conference in September 1907, Baker reported that the ASLA's annual income was $400,000, and that its 400 people published thirty-seven papers with a combined circulation of 250,000.[46] He also spoke of the importance of public sentiment to the League's success, noting that because the public can be "fickle and unthinking," the League needed to install "clear-brained, clean-blooded, broad-visioned, consecrated men" who could provide long-term leadership.[47] Additionally, he said, because the Church did not include "all who hate the liquor traffic," the League needed to reach:

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[45] "General Superintendent's Report, Rev. P. A. Baker," *Proceedings, Tenth Annual Convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America, Indianapolis, Indiana, 21-24 November 1905*, 23.

[46] "General Superintendent's Report, Rev. P. A. Baker," *Proceedings, Twelfth Annual Convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America, Norfolk, Virginia, 16-19 September 1907*, 45.

> . . . the millions not yet enrolled in the churches. This can best be done by the printed page. . . . The growth of our work demands an organ that is commensurate with the dignity of our plans and purposes. . . . we must have uniformity of teaching. . . . To meet this need, and to form a more perfect union between the states, we must have a great National organ, such as is now under contemplation, with a great editor commanding the respect and loyalty of all our people, and who can speak the right doctrine with an authority that not only State Legislatures but our National Congress will hear with respect.[48]

Baker's reference to the United States Constitution couched his call in a larger, democratic context. His goal through this newspaper was to reach state and national lawmakers, not just the subscribers solicited through League-sponsored church Field Days. And, although he did not mention any names, he seemed to have had Ernest Hurst Cherrington in mind to be the editor for that newspaper.

In 1903, months before succeeding Russell as General Superintendent of the national League, Baker had hired Cherrington as his assistant, whom he later sent to Washington as the state superintendent to reorganize the state League there. Of all the League leaders, Cherrington was one of the least educated. In time, many of the ASLA key figures would receive honorable degrees and Cherrington was no exception. He received an honorary doctor of law degree from Ohio Wesleyan in 1920 and an honorary doctor of literature degree from Otterbein College, in Westerville; yet he had only two years of college at Ohio Wesleyan before leaving to edit the Kingston, Ohio, *Tribune* between 1900-1901.[49] By 1902, he was working for the Ohio Anti-

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[47] "General Superintendent's Report," *Proceedings, 16-19 September 1907*, 48.

[48] "General Superintendent's Report," *Proceedings, 16-19 September, 1907*, 49-50.

[49] *Standard Encyclopedia*, 2: 565.

Saloon League as a county assistant superintendent before becoming Baker's assistant superintendent there.[50]

In the fall of 1907, while Cherrington still was in Washington, he and Baker corresponded about establishing a national League newspaper out of Chicago, where the ASLA's publishing concerns were at the time.[51] This national newspaper would have an identity separate from the Ohio *American Issue*, which had been the model for the national organ. Based on a letter Baker wrote to Cherrington from the League's legislative offices in Washington, D.C., the latter seemed to be against the idea of one paper, opting instead for regional editions.

At least one of Cherrington's arguments appeared to be that national distribution would be a slow process, with single copies taking too long to reach their destinations. Baker responded that the solution was to bundle papers together by state and, presumably, deliver them to League chapters for distribution, rather than mailing them to individual addresses. He continued,

> The same arguments you make against the publication of one paper at Chicago can be made against any other paper of universal circulation, the Home Herald, Colliers, and all such papers. . . . there is such a provincial view taken of our work by some of our men, that I believe a paper published for different sections of the country, will have a strong tendency to break us up into clans; we are having experience of it now on the [Pacific] slope; Oregan [*sic*] and California are clear out of touch almost, with the National League, the latter receiving no assistance from them, while it is struggling to get laws to benefit them.[52]

Thus, by 1907, the League seemed to be struggling with internal cohesion. A national newspaper published outside of the realm of the Ohio League could help unify some of those internal "provincial views" of which Baker wrote while serving to establish and reinforce a series of messages for its external supporters.

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[50] *Standard Encyclopedia*, 2: 565.

[51] It is not clear why the League moved its printing operations from Ohio to Chicago, but the move lasted less than two years.

[52] P. A. Baker, Washington, D.C., to E. H. Cherrington, Seattle, Washington, LS, 12 December 1907, roll 1 (folder i), Cherrington Series.

Cherrington's follow-up is not included in his papers, but Baker's reply three weeks later to his apparent response addressed the former's future role in the publishing concern.[53] Baker wrote Cherrington that *American Issue* editor John Collins Jackson had been ill for some time, making it increasingly difficult for him to publish the newsletter. Thus, he proposed, Cherrington could move to Chicago to be Jackson's assistant editor and then take over the paper when Jackson left.

After some negotiating in which Cherrington implied that he would need $6,000 to move to Chicago and Baker responded by questioning his commitment to the League, Cherrington was appointed at approximately $2,000 a year to be assistant editor of *American Issue* in 1908, then editor in chief in the spring of 1909, following Jackson's death, and then manager of the American Issue Publishing Company in 1910.[54]

Press Office

Part of Baker's charge to Cherrington included the establishment and administration of a press bureau that would "give to the newspapers of the country correct information touching the progress of this reform. . . . not only to the great dailies of the country, but to the country weeklies, as well as the religious press, such information for their use, or as much of it as they will use, as we collect concerning the whole field of temperance reform. . . . *We can get into the press of the country free, as news, what the other fellows have to pay for.*"[55]

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[53] P. A. Baker, Washington, D.C., to E. H. Cherrington, Seattle, Washington, LS, 24 December 1907, roll 1 (folder i), Cherrington Series.

[54] E. H. Cherrington, Seattle, Washington, to P. A. Baker, Columbus, Ohio, LS, 3 January 1908, roll 1 (folder i), Cherrington Series; P. A. Baker, Columbus, Ohio, to E. H. Cherrington, Seattle, Washington, LS, 8 January 1908, roll 1 (folder i), Cherrington Series; *Standard Encyclopedia*, 2: 565.

Baker's idea of working with the press to help further the Prohibition movement and, more specifically, the work of the League, seems obvious by today's standards. However, when Baker wrote this letter in 1907, the generally accepted story of the history of public relations—and the lessons to be learned therein—had hardly begun. Edward Bernays, one of the three traditionally held PR pioneers, was still in high school, one year away from his first date with future wife and partner Doris E. Fleischman, and sixteen years away from writing his first book on public relations. Another, John Hill, was just seventeen. And the third oft-cited PR pioneer, Ivy Lee, had only just published his "Declaration of Principles," a commitment to the press that it would receive openly accurate news—versus attempts at placing free advertising—through items provided by Lee and his senior partner, George Parker.[56]

Although Baker equated media coverage with free advertising, his idea that the League had a story to tell and that it should be told to the media frequently and accurately is a fundamental principle of modern media relations. Furthermore, his desire to ensure that the country weeklies and religious press received that information, in addition to the metro dailies, revealed an understanding at some level of the need to appeal to the League's audiences through the newspapers they would be most likely to read. Thus, twenty years before Bernays would select *Vogue* as the appropriate distribution channel for promoting the color green to fashion leaders, Baker already was thinking in terms of matching channels to audiences.[57]

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[55] Baker to Cherrington, 24 December 1907. [Italics added for emphasis.]

[56] Ray Eldon Hiebert, *Courtier to the Crowd: The Story of Ivy Lee and the Development of Public Relations* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1966), 47-8. According to Hiebert, the ideas in the declaration arose from Lee's cumulative experiences as a former reporter and fairly new publicity agent; however, the impetus for the declaration itself seems to have come from Lee's work for the Anthracite Coal Roads and Mines Company during the 1906 miner strikes.

American Issue Publishing Company

When Cherrington became editor in chief of *American Issue* in 1909, construction already was under way in Westerville, Ohio, to build the publishing concern that Baker had written about the year before, and the building, which housed three printing presses operating six days a week, was dedicated that fall.[58] At the ASLA's 1909 national convention, Baker explained the choice of location.[59] Westerville was ideal, he said, because of its central location, its proximity to Columbus, Ohio, and its connections to other cities by rail and electric line. The town already had been dry for thirty years, it was home to Otterbein College, a Methodist school, and rent and operations costs were low. Most important, Westerville had donated ten acres of land worth $10,000, a house, and $500 in cash.

Baker's report also addressed the League's audiences. Since ASLA's inception, he explained, members have known that they needed a new literature "of a different type from any that had yet appeared from any source, both as to quality and quantity."[60] Because the day of "great mass meetings for the discussion of public questions" had passed, he said, political parties had come to rely increasingly upon literature; as such, then, reformers needed to use literature to "move the indifferent and convince the prejudiced."[61]

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[57] Larry Tye, *The Father of Spin* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1998), 41.

[58] Mary S. Higley, "American Issue Publishing Company, 1909-1934," in *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of Temperance and Prohibition Papers,* ed. Randall C. Jimerson, Francix X. Blouin, and Charles A. Isetts (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1977), 196; "General Superintendent's Report, Rev. P. A. Baker," *Proceedings, Thirteenth National Convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America, Chicago, Illinois, 6-9 December 1909,* 43.

[59] "General Superintendent's Report," *Proceedings, 6-9 December 1909,* 43. Baker did not discuss how the offer came about or even if the ASLA had planned to move, although Higley (p. 196) speculated that the move was due to high production and circulation costs, which, if cut, could have translated into lower subscription costs. Another factor could have been Cherrington. Having taken a pay cut to relocate to Chicago and finding the cost of living too high and/or having found himself at a distance from the locus of League decision-making, he might also have pushed for the move.

The future of ASLA, he said, relied upon expanding its "constituency" beyond church-goers to people who did not know about the movement, were indifferent to it, or perhaps most of all, heard only criticism of it. " . . . They must be reached if we are to win. . . . through literature that is made attractive from a mechanical point of view as well as in point of matter."[62] The League must reach into the home, he continued, arousing the interest of the wives and children, who, in turn would interest their husbands and fathers in the cause. "From the beginning, this has been the weakest point in our movement."[63] And, in a comment that spoke to the need for targeting messages to specific audiences, Baker said that people within the temperance movement tended to:

> . . . overestimate the standard of public sentiment. The great mass of our people are yet in the primary grade as to the real knowledge they have of this evil; they need a literature that will quicken the conscience and enlighten the mind. . . . Others need to be inspired by the noise of victory—a literature that recounts successes. Still others, with little conscience, want to know if it pays. The people must be graded and classified and their needs met as we have not dreamed of hitherto. This is not optional with us; it is the price of success, and the [state] superintendent who cannot finance his league for these results ought to soon give way to some one [*sic*] who can. This war is to be won by the wise massing and manning of the heaviest possible artillery.[64]

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[60] "General Superintendent's Report," *Proceedings, 6-9 December 1909*, 42-3.

[61] "General Superintendent's Report," *Proceedings, 6-9 December 1909*, 44.

[62] "General Superintendent's Report," *Proceedings, 6-9 December 1909*, 44.

[63] "General Superintendent's Report," *Proceedings, 6-9 December 1909*, 45.

[64] "General Superintendent's Report," *Proceedings, 6-9 December 1909*, 45.

He explained that "country people" needed only to be contacted to be won over; however, "the laboring class," as the most "exploited by the saloon and brewery element," needed to realize their own potential for creating a "Holy crusade," at which point they would align with the League.[65]

He emphasized that the ASLA was not bent on blurring the lines between church and state. Rather, he explained, the work was mutually beneficial: the church was developing for the state "a morally ballasted citizenship," while the state was protecting "the fundamental principles of morality for which the church stands. . . . it is the church's business to make civilization."[66]

Baker closed his report with the declaration that, from then on, League workers needed to be selected carefully. Now that the League was well-known, he said, " . . . its representatives are scrutinized, weighed and measured, as men of affairs who are dealing with issues of tremendous moment, which cannot be trusted to any but manly, consecrated hands."[67] It was within this context that Baker introduced Cherrington to the assembly as the new editor of *American Issue* and manager of the American Issue Publishing Company (AIPC).

The Blue Book

One of the first and most important publications produced during Cherrington's first year was a pamphlet written by William H. Anderson titled, "The Church in Action Against the Saloon: An Authoritative Statement of the Movement known as the Anti-Saloon League," more commonly referred to as the "Blue Book."[68] Anderson was a lawyer who had been actively involved in the temperance work of the Methodist Church before joining the ASLA in 1900.[69] He wrote the first version of the booklet in 1906 while serving as the associate superintendent for the New York State Anti-Saloon League; by the time he revised it in 1910, he was state superintendent of the Maryland League.[70]

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[65] "General Superintendent's Report," *Proceedings, 6-9 December 1909*, 46.

[66] "General Superintendent's Report," *Proceedings, 6-9 December 1909*, 47.

[67] "General Superintendent's Report," *Proceedings, 6-9 December 1909*, 47-8.

The later edition of the Blue Book deserves particular attention because it served as the first national declaration of the ideas, methods, and standards by which the League operated. The preface included endorsements from Howard Hyde Russell, who called it "an authority upon the subject," and from Purley Baker, who wrote that it was "the best statement, we believe, of what the Anti-Saloon League is,—its plans and methods,—that has yet been produced."[71] It also responded to Baker's concerns that many people within and outside the movement actually knew very little about the League's work. The booklet, then, provided " . . . a statement of the fundamental principles, essential facts, and typical methods of a movement which many temperance people do not yet comprehend."[72] In 1918, eight years after its publication, the Blue Book was listed in the ASLA's catalog, a sign that its messages were still perceived as relevant.[73]

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[68] "Pre 18th Amendment & early 20's: Box 1," Anti-Saloon League Archives, Westerville Public Library.

[69] *Standard Encyclopedia,* 1: 164.

[70] *Standard Encyclopedia,* 1: 164.

[71] William H. Anderson, "The Church in Action Against the Saloon" (Westerville, Ohio: American Issue Publishing Company, 1910), 3-4.

[72] Anderson, "The Church in Action," 5.

[73] A typed note dated 14 February 1918 and inserted into the archival copy of the Blue Book indicated its catalog number (28151) and price list: 10¢ each; 12 for $1; 100 for $4; 1,000 for $30; 5,000 for $100.

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The Blue Book also echoed Baker's desire for a unity of teaching, that "more perfect union" of ideas and thoughts among states that he had called for at the 1907 national conference. For example, early on, Anderson explained that what the League meant by the word "saloon" was much broader than what many might have assumed: "all phases of the beverage liquor traffic existing by legal sanction or official connivance."[74] He emphasized that the League's purpose was not to generate "anti-saloon sentiment," but to channel "existing sentiment to secure immediate results" and to do so by pioneering new methods and working with policy, rather than "waiting for the ideal plan."[75] The League, he explained, was not interested in reforming the liquor traffic, but to eliminate it because liquor licensing was "utterly inconsistent with the purpose of enlightened government" and it protected a practice that was "inherently criminal in nature."[76] Yet, Anderson wrote, the League was "elastic and adaptable," willing to work with men, whoever they were and whatever they believed, as long as they were interested in doing something to "improve the conditions."[77]

Anderson continued with this idea of the ASLA's pragmatism, noting that it was better to support a second-choice candidate with a good chance of winning, than an ideal one with a poor chance.[78] He stressed that the League would not trade off general prohibition for local option laws, but would settle for local option in wet states while promoting prohibition in states that were mostly dry already.[79] Then, despite his prior claim that the League sought only to channel existing public sentiment into action, he outlined two steps in its temperance work: "the creation of sentiment to the point of conviction" and "the conversion of conviction through action into results."[80] Thus, in its first nationally oriented publication intended as the authoritative description of the League's work, Anderson spelled out the ASLA's intention to not only mobilize existing sentiment, but to create it where it did not already exist.

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[74] Anderson, "The Church in Action," 9-10.

[75] Anderson, "The Church in Action," 10-11.

[76] Anderson, "The Church in Action," 11.

[77] Anderson, "The Church in Action," 12.

[78] Anderson, "The Church in Action," 20.

In reading the Blue Book it is often difficult to recall the religious fervor with which Howard Hyde Russell had spoken of the League. In his discussion about the relation of churches to the League's work, in fact, Anderson is brutal. He explained that there were some who did not want temperance to become a church issue and others who objected to the League's Field Days because they violated their church's collection rules.[81] Nevertheless, he wrote, the churches needed to conform to the League's demands because, if problems occurred (and if they did, he said, it was usually the fault of the churches), the League would "compel them to take a stand or cease to be respectable—as churches."[82] At the very least, he said, churches should avoid interfering with the ASLA's efforts and praise its work to their parishioners because the League "should not be hampered by ecclesiastical limitations in the discharge of what are technically secular functions."[83]

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[79] Anderson, "The Church in Action," 31.

[80] Anderson, "The Church in Action," 58.

[81] Anderson, "The Church in Action," 45; 53.

[82] Anderson, "The Church in Action," 57-8.

[83] Anderson, "The Church in Action," 58; 61-2.

Anderson also addressed Baker's previously mentioned concern about the quality of the League's work force, declaring with surprising cruelty that it would recognize and avoid "the ministerial misfits and clerical flotsam and jetsam that are kindly recommended by their friendly, but despairing, denominational associates for every new interdenominational job that is open."[84]

Anderson had begun by insisting that the League was not "an anti-vice association, a purity crusade nor a mere law enforcement bureau. . . . It is the united Christian Militant engaged in the overthrow of the liquor traffic."[85] He ended by affirming the League's inevitable triumph over the saloon, "the united church of the Lord Jesus Christ, the right arm on earth of God, the Father Almighty . . . has never yet met defeat."[86] Because the ASLA represented "the omnipotent power of Almighty God directed against the saloon through the medium of his church," he cautioned in a final warning shot to naysayers within the Church, "the lack of faith, courage or wisdom on the part of its ministers" would be the only way the "gates of hell" would prevail.[87]

Conclusion

Between 1893 and 1903, Howard Hyde Russell established the key messages and methods that drove the Anti-Saloon League of America's communication efforts. Agitation would arouse public sentiment, influence attitudes against the saloon interests, and promote behavior against the saloons in the form of political participation. Existing legislation would be enforced, and it would be enacted where it did not exist. All of this would be financed by subscriptions collected during the League's signature special event, the Field Day. The enemy was not the drunkard, but the powers that be that made him drunk. To create a dry nation by supporting candidates who would support local option laws and vote dry—whatever their personal preferences toward liquor—was to exercise the fundamental rights of a democracy. Finally, the ASLA, led by a core of paid organizers, was to be *the* federation of omni-partisan and interdenominational temperance interests dedicated to the single purpose of eliminating the sale and traffic of intoxicating beverages. Other social concerns, particularly woman's suffrage, were to be acknowledged only to the extent that they might further the goal of the League.

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[84] Anderson, "The Church in Action," 63.

[85] Anderson, "The Church in Action," 21.

[86] Anderson, "The Church in Action," 63.

[87] Anderson, "The Church in Action," 64.

During Purley Baker's tenure, the publication of the Blue Book signaled a turning point in the League's work. Its very foundation of faith was paved over with pragmatism. Additionally, under Baker's leadership, the ASLA built its own production facilities and established its own national paper and press office. The League recognized that it needed to reach well beyond the Church, with increasingly more people requiring more targeted messages through more literature more often.

There has been a general consensus among PR scholars and practitioners heretofore that modern PR began with World War I and George Creel's Committee on Public Information.[88] Alan Raucher contended, however, that the Creel Committee was not central to PR's development because it had harnessed techniques already in use at the time, such as the "subdivision of the public and appeals to special groups, saturation publicity through repetition, and the use of every medium of communications."[89] This study of the League's communications supports that observation.

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[88] See, for example, Eric Goldman, *Two-Way Street: The Emergence of the Public Relations Counsel* (Boston: Bellman Publishing Company, Inc., 1948); and Scott M. Cutlip, *The Unseen Power. Public Relations: A History* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994). Cutlip, though, did expand the literature with his *Unseen Power* prequel, *Public Relations History: From the 17th to the 20th Century. The Antecedents* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1995).

The ASLA developed an official house organ as a tool of unification within the League and to present a united front of the League's work and philosophy to the country. It was conscious of the need to target its audience and then to employ the most appropriate messages and channels of distribution. At this point in the League's history, it ensured that the churches had Field Days, the press had the national conventions and the League's Press Office, families had the *American Issue*, and young adults had the Lincoln-Lee Legion. Also, its national conventions paralleled today's shareholder meetings and professional association meetings, special events designed to provide a forum in which an organization sends its official messages and sets the agenda for the coming year's work. Although these efforts might not have been labeled "public relations" at the time, the League's messages, methods, and infrastructure all served as precedents to what we think of today as modern PR. And these precedents also had precedents, considering, for example, Howard Hyde Russell's adoption of agitation from abolitionist Wendell Phillips, who surely must have had his influences, as well.

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[89] Alan R. Raucher, *Public Relations and Business, 1900-1929,* The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968), 73, 72.

Two Steps Forward and One Step Back:

Coverage of Women Journalists in *Editor & Publisher*, 1978 through 1988

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Accepted for Presentation in the History Division
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
Miami Beach, Fla., Aug 7-10, 2002

Abstract: Two Steps Forward and One Step Back:
Coverage of Women Journalists in Editor & Publisher 1978 through 1988

This study examined the coverage of women journalists in *Editor & Publisher* magazine during the decade following the 1978 settlement of *The New York Times* sex discrimination case. Despite the important growth and struggles for women journalists in the 1970s, coverage indicated that the next decade brought more battles. Women journalists continued to struggle for equality and contentment on the job. Perhaps this was why retention started to become an issue for women journalists.

Citation style: The reference system of this manuscript conforms to the 14th edition of the Chicago Manual of Style. The endnotes include every work cited in the text.

The 1970s were full of turmoil and change for women and the American press. Women were, for the first time, flocking into the nation's journalism schools en masse.[1] Women journalists already on the job at news media companies were organizing and filing complaints of sex discrimination.[2] Traditional "women's sections" of newspapers were disappearing.[3] And women were securing "firsts" all over the profession – in awards, in beats, in promotions and more.

So by the late 1970s, the momentum was strong for the continued advancement of women and women's issues in the media. When *The New York Times* finally agreed on Oct. 6, 1978 to an out-of-court settlement of payments and an affirmative action program for its women employees, it sent a message of change at even the most tradition-bound kind of company. Women in the news media had arrived.

Or had they? By 1989, foremost feminist Betty Friedan and others were still so skeptical of women's progress that they launched the Women, Men and Media project to provide real data about the position of women in the news media. They found women still underrepresented in bylines, in story placement, and in being quoted as sources.[4] Similar trends still exist.[5]

The decade following *The New York Times* sex discrimination suit was important because of the large cadre of women journalists coming into a field that was still adjusting to the new gender diversity.[6] By 1988, according to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, women made up 35 percent of all newspaper journalists.[7] Yet, despite their sizable numbers, there is evidence that many women journalists still endured lower salaries, lower rates of promotion, sexual harassment, and discrimination. Study after study bore this out. For instance, a 1983 survey by the American Society of

Newspaper Editors found there were just 93 women editors but 1,027 men editors.[8] By 1987, just 79 out of 1,454 publishers and general managers – 5.2 percent – were women, and one company, Gannett, employed 25 percent of those.[9] In 1981, women newspaper journalists made, on average, just 71 percent of what their male counterparts were paid.[10] Salary disparities appeared even worse at the top. By 1983, a study found that top women newspaper managers earned about 60 percent of men's salaries for comparable jobs.[11]

Women journalists in the Denver area told researchers in 1989 that they felt they had hit a glass ceiling, still suffer from sex discrimination, and "will continue to have a harder time than men getting ahead professionally." More than three-fourths of the women surveyed said it was more difficult for women than men to achieve professional success. Only 66 percent had agreed with that statement in 1979.[12] As a result, a full decade after *The New York Times* sex discrimination case was settled, it began to become apparent that despite their gains, women were not remaining in newspaper journalism as long as men. This was despite "rapidly increasing enrollments of women in U.S. journalism schools during the 1980s, and the emphasis on hiring women since the late 1970s."[13] Indeed, in 2001, women comprised just 37 percent of all newspaper journalists – just 2 percent more than there had been thirteen years earlier.[14]

In more recent years, the experience of women journalists has continued to be mixed – with slow successes in many areas and continued obstacles in others. In the early 1990s, Weaver and Wilhoit found overall median salaries for women were just 84 percent of those of men although the salary gap appeared to be closing.[15] There were similar findings in a study of women Washington correspondents. The study, which surveyed 320 female and male Washington correspondents, concluded that despite having roughly equivalent average job experiences to men, women journalists' salaries and outside incomes were considerably lower.[16]

Sexual harassment continued to be a problem for some women journalists. A survey of 227 women newspaper journalists found "relatively widespread" sexual harassment. Some 60 percent of respondents said they believed sexual harassment was at least somewhat a problem for women journalists. More than one-third told the authors that harassment had been at least somewhat a problem for them personally as a result of their jobs. Interestingly, at newspapers with the fewest women in their newsrooms, women respondents were four times more likely to say that sexual harassment was a problem.[17] Another study elaborated on these findings. A national survey of 215 women sports reporters found that the respondents reported being on the receiving end of more "sexist language" than their counterparts in the news departments. Most said there is not equal opportunity in the workplace for female sports journalists, or an equal chance to cover the best sports beats, or to get promotions.[18]

While there is limited empirical data on women journalists internationally, one survey of women journalists from more than 40 countries found overwhelmingly that women journalists believe they face obstacles their male counterparts do not. The biggest impediment mentioned was balancing work and family. Some respondents concluded that "because of their family obligations, they are being passed up by younger journalists who have fewer demands on their time and finances." Respondents, in general, felt discriminated against in pay, and said that women, overall – even those in management -- tended to be shunted toward administrative positions or toward covering more "soft" topics rather than hard news, politics, science, technology, or business.[19]

All obstacles aside, there is some evidence that the gains by women journalists may have come at a personal price that makes it harder for women to combine work and non-work goals. Nearly half of women Washington correspondents surveyed -- 45 percent -- had never married, compared to just 22 percent of the men. And 64 percent of the women reporters had never had a child, compared with 40 percent of the males. While the single, childless women may have been single and childless by choice -- regardless of their career preferences -- even women Washington correspondents who did have children reported a greater personal cost. Women reporters with children were much more likely than male respondents with children to say that having children had "hampered their careers. Twice as many females as males -- 41 percent versus 22 percent -- said they believe being a parent has hurt their career 'a fair amount' or 'a great deal.'" Age did not explain the differences in marital status or childlessness, because the median age for both groups was 42.[20]

The anecdotal accounts of women journalists and their sacrifices are also revealing. Pulitzer Prize winner Lucy Morgan told Ricciardi and Young that she once had to drag her three young children along with her when she covered a 3 a.m. fire because, as a single parent, she had no one else at home to watch them. And as a reporter, she said, "the only other choice was not to go."[21] Another Pulitzer winner, Jacqui Banaszynski, also acknowledged sacrifices:

> I'm not married and I don't have children. At 37 staring at 38, that's tough. I can't blame all that on my career, but it's a major factor. I can't tell you the number of dinner dates I've missed, the number of theatre tickets I've let go of, the number of family visits I've cancelled at the last minute, the number of vacations I've

cancelled at the last minute or just never scheduled, the number of people I've disappointed because I've made them a promise and then said, 'Oops, can't make it, got a story' [22]

Along similar lines, when Charlotte Curtis, the associate editor and columnist at *The New York Times*, was diagnosed with breast cancer, she told only very close friends because she was afraid it would stop the *Times* from further promoting her.[23]

The career-and-personal-life constraints on women journalists have continued to be debated. Joyce Purnick, the metro editor of *The New York Times*, set off a firestorm of controversy when she told the all-female graduating class of Barnard College that she was "absolutely convinced" she would not be the *Times'* metro editor if she had had a family. The only reason she had been able to climb so high at the *Times* was because she was able to put in 12-hour days and seven-day workweeks. She told the graduates that she had, regretfully, "forfeited the chance to have children" until it was too late. The lesson of her experience was that women "cannot have it all."[24]

The purpose of this paper is to examine and analyze the coverage of women journalists and issues related to women journalists in the ten years following the end of the *New York Times* sex discrimination case in the foremost industry trade publication of the time: *Editor & Publisher* magazine.[25] As the primary trade magazine for newspaper owners and managers, appearing weekly, *Editor & Publisher* can provide a case study as to the salience of women's issues for those holding among the most influence over the nation's press.

This content analysis is important to help to illuminate both the advancement of and obstacles toward women journalists at newspapers during those early years of significant numbers of women in journalism. The ten-year period after the settlement of the *Times* sex discrimination case represents a time of significant entrenchment of women in the mass media. Much of the growth already had occurred. Many of the court battles had been fought. This was the period when expectations of equality became more commonplace – yet still unrealized for many women journalists and their issues.

Method

This research consisted of a critical evaluation of the articles in *Editor & Publisher* that addressed women journalists or women's concerns during the ten-year period following the October 6, 1978 settlement of *The New York Times* sex discrimination case.[26] Eighty-seven articles were found and evaluated using qualitative research methods in an effort to determine whether or not there were patterns in the coverage and in the overall tone of the articles. The articles' size and location were considered, as was the gender of the author and whether or not there were accompanying photographs of women.[27]

Findings

If women emerged from the settlement of *The New York Times* sex discrimination case feeling optimistic and encouraged about equality for women journalists, the coverage in *Editor & Publisher* magazine would more than likely leave them disappointed. The magazine's coverage of women journalists over the next decade told women, in essence: you'll be paid less, promoted less and face a glass ceiling. You will likely lack support from other women journalists, pay a high personal price and suffer more stress than male journalists. You could be killed, go to jail, be sexually harassed in the newsroom, and work harder than men to prove yourselves. To be sure, there were some articles, particularly toward the end of this study period, in which women journalists were "mainstreamed," so to speak: women were written about for their journalistic accomplishments without special regard for or emphasis on gender. But those instances were far overshadowed by coverage of continued discrimination and difficulty for women on the job at newspapers. Eight themes emerged in these articles. They were categorized this way:

I. Discrimination
II. Look What Women Can Do!
III. Women vs. Women
IV. Want to Succeed? The Onus is on You
V. Let's Define Women Another Way
VI. You Can't Have it All
VII. Mainstreaming
VIII. Discouragement and Pessimism

I. Discrimination

While *The New York Times* sex discrimination case never made it into *Editor & Publisher*, plenty of other examples did. As the coverage in *Editor & Publisher* makes clear, women continued to face lower pay and rates of promotion – and sometimes retaliation for complaining about it -- for at least the next ten years. Articles in *Editor & Publisher* told readers about sex discrimination complaints or lawsuits at New York *Newsday*, the Associated Press, the Guy Gannett newspaper chain, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, *The Washington Post*, the *Clearwater* (Fla) *Sun*, United Press International and the *Los Angeles Times*.[28] While some articles indicated past grievances were being remedied with back pay and affirmative action plans, a number of articles told of continuing problems of discrimination for women journalists. A 1985 article told readers that the Cleveland (Ohio) Guild filed a grievance against the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* over a "'worsening pattern' of wage discrimination against female editorial employees."[29] Readers found the issue again in a 1986 story about a report issued by the Washington-Baltimore local of The Newspaper Guild. This report concluded that *The Washington Post* continued to pay lower wages to black and women journalists, and that although the gap was narrowing by race for men, it was worsening for women.[30] A year later, readers learned that forty-six women editors and other female staff members at the *Los Angeles Times* had filed a formal complaint charging that there was a "glass ceiling" preventing the rise of women to top management levels. As an example, they noted that a male editor was appointed to the top job in the lifestyle section without the position ever being advertised or women considered. "It seems insensitive on the part of supervisors to assume that a man is so obviously qualified that there is no reason to even consider women candidates," the women wrote.[31]

Besides the articles about allegations of sex discrimination at specific newspapers, a number of articles quoted women journalists charging that sex discrimination was pervasive throughout the industry. Such a story was published in 1982 about the results of a survey of eighty-four women editors regarding sex discrimination. Nearly all the women surveyed said they had suffered past discrimination in salaries, assignments, and promotions. Many of the women surveyed said that sex discrimination was still present at newspapers but had become more "subtle." There were still sexual jokes, and advantages were sometimes accorded to women based on their looks. Some complained about being shut out of good "old boy" networks. One said that men at her newspaper resented her. Another said she was not taken seriously at news meetings. Some related tales where they felt patronized, or where they were told that a woman couldn't handle certain management duties. Several complained that they had to keep a greater check on their emotions than did male editors.[32]

In a 1985 story, readers learned that a study by the National Press Photographers Association found that women photographers still faced considerable discrimination and sexism.[33] Sometimes the coverage focused on less substantive complaints. A 1986 feature article related how a Florida fishing tournament denied access to a woman sportswriter from the *Orlando Sentinel* because she, as a woman, "cannot urinate over the side of a boat." In addition to the lack of bathroom facilities, the female reporter was told that "she would be a distraction to the fishermen." This occurred even after the promoters had earlier announced that they wanted members of the media on the boats to "act as observers."[34]

A 1987 story about a panel discussion on Women in the Workplace noted that the panelists "sought to show that sexism and discrimination still flourish on U.S. newspapers, despite women's progress in newsroom employment." [35] A year later, readers were told that sex discrimination was evident at the highest levels at newspapers, in an article about a panel discussion entitled, "If women are doing so well, where are the women on the masthead?" Some newspapers, the report noted, had expanded their mastheads so that lower-ranking women's names could appear there,[36] as an alternative to promoting a woman to the traditional masthead positions. And lastly, a 1988 review of the book "A Place in the News" noted that the book described "the horror" of working "as a woman in a male-dominated world and, specifically, for the predominantly male clubs called newspapers."[37] It seems that readers of *Editor & Publisher* could not have come away from this coverage without concluding that sex discrimination was still a persistent battle for women at newspapers and news services.

II. Look What Women Can Do!

A number of articles in this decade took a tone of "Look What Women Can Do!" While some women were given publicity for achieving firsts in their fields, the tone was often incredulous, particularly early in the period. The first of these articles appeared on July 28, 1979, entitled: "Four women make their mark as sportswriters." The lead related how one sportswriter covered the Kentucky Derby on crutches! One worked 11 hours! Another worked on her day off! One "crammed" for her first tennis tournament at Madison Square Garden! (emphasis added) In nearly every description of the four women, the descriptions were related to gender, even though many of the aspects described would be expected on the job for any sportswriter. Moreover, the article noted that all four women "expressed gratitude to male counterparts for encouragement," suggesting that the women did not get where they were on their own. One later stated that the "ostracism" of the job sometimes "hurts my feelings."[38]

A 1979 article about a woman feature writer brought in to cover the Red Sox for the Boston *Herald-American* noted that the "cheesecake" photo of her used to promote her columns "had players wondering what her motives in covering the team were," thereby leaving *Editor & Publisher* readers to wonder as well. It also mentioned that she at one point felt the need to begin dressing regularly in skirts instead of blue jeans so that players "would feel I wasn't so casual about what I was doing."[39] It is hard to imagine where the attire of a male journalist would ever be central to a news article.

A 1982 article entitled, "Women earn large share of national contest awards" was on one hand a sign of encouraging progress for women journalists. Yet, the fact that the women were singled out seemed unnecessarily patronizing. The article included a peculiar statement that the number of women-won awards "could make a strong case for the feminist movement," as if to suggest that women do not deserve equality unless they win large numbers of awards. Another sentence noted that "*a former housewife*, Jane Clute, piled up honors for the *Rock Hill* (S.C.) *Evening Herald* . . ." (emphasis added) It is hard to imagine how her former at-home status was relevant.[40] It probably would be a safe bet that plenty of award-winning male journalists used to, at one time, hold other jobs, but unrelated former pursuits are less likely to be mentioned for men.

A feature article about the only female photographer at any major newspaper in China carried forth this tone from the start with the headline: "She does it all!" [sic] Then the story went on to imply that the woman wasn't doing it all very well, in that she dislikes housework and "I do the best I can but my husband is often upset with me." It is hard to imagine why the reporter felt the need to either ask about or write about the groundbreaking photographer's concerns regarding poor housework.[41]

A 1986 article about advancements by women sportswriters ended on a silly, patronizing note. The article noted how the National Football League commissioner had recently ruled that women sportswriters had to be given the same locker room access as males. Then the last paragraph of the story quoted a male sportswriter quipping that if treatment is to be equal, than he should be allowed into tennis star Chris Evert's locker room, "he noted with a smile."[42] Since there has never been an issue of male writers being systematically excluded from interviewing women athletes, the comparison could only marginalize the real-world concerns of women sportswriters.

Sometimes, women themselves gave examples in interviews of feeling patronized in their professions. A 1988 story on a panel discussion about women syndicated columnists included such a quote by one woman panelist. She recalled that columnist William F. Buckley had described her as a "conservative Ellen Goodman." The woman observed, "there is a certain condescension in being compared only with other women."[43]

III. Women vs. Women

Previous research has shown that the feminist movement was often delegitimized in the press as a "catfight" or a battleground that divided women "and took the focus away from the central issue" of equal rights.[44] Women journalists reading *Editor & Publisher* would have found a number of examples of this pattern during the second half of the decade under study. In a 1985 story about a study on the problems faced by women newspaper photographers, it was noted that the report said some women "who are used to the extra attention of being the only women in the darkroom are threatened by the addition of another woman photographer." The report urged women photographers to support and encourage one another, yet the author then chose to highlight the conclusion that some women "'use their femininity' to manipulate their way to success."[45]

Three articles that same year were published about a study by the University of Maryland noting that women had surpassed men to become a majority in the nation's journalism schools. The trend, however, held possible drawbacks in that journalism could become a "pink collar ghetto" where the increased number of women could depress salaries and prestige for journalists. Women readers who found credence in the study could come away from these stories resenting other women for entering the field and keeping down salaries. Moreover, readers would have read fierce criticism between women journalists and the woman journalism educator who led the study. After the first article described the study and its findings[46] came a rebuttal, written by the woman director of editorial development for the Scripps Howard newspaper chain. She criticized the study and its woman author for demonstrating "the worst kind of outmoded and stereotypical thinking about women." The underlying message of the study, she complained, was that "women are less demanding than men, more willing to be dumped on . . . less aggressive and more inclined to sit back and take what is dished out . . . Hogwash." She accused the study's author of setting out to "reinforce stereotypes."[47] The study's author, Maurine Beasley, then responded with a lengthy article to counter "the angry and unwarranted attack" and the "vicious criticism" and "hysterical tone" of detractors, who disagreed "violently" with her study. She then noted that she was one of the few "tenured professors in journalism education who has attempted serious research in the area of women in the media," against the advice of male colleagues,[48] suggesting that research into women's issues is scorned.

Another 1985 story explained how *Washington Post* chairwoman Katherine Graham was to speak before the all-male Gridiron Club annual dinner until she learned that some of her women employees planned to picket, and cancelled.[49] Some readers might have wondered how Graham could not have known her women employees would be opposed to her support of an elite organization that would not allow women to join.

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A 1986 article covering a Women in Newspaper Management conference quoted a publisher who warned women that they will be lonely at the top and should "not assume all women working with them are for them."[50] A 1987 feature story about syndicated columnist Georgie Anne Geyer described her as an "ardent feminist," then noted that she speaks "somewhat wistfully of her early years when she was one of the few females in a male-filled newsroom."[51] Lastly, in an article about the annual meeting of the Women in Communications organization, one older woman journalist was quoted saying that it is "bittersweet" to see younger women rise in less time than her generation,[52] continuing the theme that women are sometimes against other women's successes.

III. Want to Succeed? The Onus is on You

While women readers of *Editor & Publisher* frequently encountered evidence of continuing discrimination in pay and promotions, there was also a frequent message that women were partly to blame if they were left behind. If women want to succeed, this theme suggested, the onus was on them to do even more than to merely be good at their work. They had to also take care of the home front, work harder than men, or recognize that their failures would reflect badly upon all women journalists.

A 1979 article about women in newspaper management quoted the promotions director for *The Washington Post,* who stated: "If given the opportunity, they [women] must respond in a professional way. Equal pay equal work [sic] means equal time spent on the job. Child care must be adequately arranged." She went on to note that women should "become more at ease" working with men. "Every complimentary smile needn't be interpreted as sexist,"[53] suggesting that it is women who have exaggerated incidents of true sexual harassment. An article about the annual conference of Women in

Communications advised women to "join hands" to give a "fair . . . shake" to all women by not writing "gossipy, unsubstantial" stories. It also noted that the enemy of feminists is "the woman inside the reporter whose poor self-image gets projected onto the interviewee,"[54] again, blaming the woman journalist. A 1983 story about the out-of-court settlement of the sex discrimination suit against the Associated Press quoted one of the women plaintiffs saying that the "whole burden" of promoting women should not lie with news media management. Women, rather, need to want to climb the ladder.[55] A year later, an article related that the AP had surpassed its goals for hiring and promoting women, but noted that it was taking longer to put women into the bureau chief positions because "the failure of any woman in that position 'would have disastrous effects on other women on the staff,'" according to the AP personnel chief. Instead of promoting women to those positions "for the sake of fulfilling a quota," women candidates had to instead to undergo a lengthy training program. At the time, there were only three women bureau chiefs of 70 AP foreign and domestic bureaus.[56] Because of the low number of women photographers in management, a 1985 story warned women that they "cannot afford to make the same mistakes as their male colleagues might make,"[57] again, suggesting that each woman who succeeds or fails must remember that she represents the collective abilities of all women.

A 1986 article about a Women in Newspaper Management Conference quoted one college journalism professor stating that women need to let it be known if they want to move up the ladder "because people don't always assume women want to move up."[58] Yet, such assumptions are not typically made about men as a class.

Readers would also have read about a new study that concluded women journalists suffer more stress than men. In general, the article noted, "women [journalists] … express more guilt than men. Women blame themselves, men blame the system," the article stated, adding that women feel more guilty than men about time spent away from children[59] -- something that shouldn't be the case in a marriage of equals. And lastly, a story written by a woman sportswriter for the *Orlando Sentinel* in 1985 described being in the locker room of the Birmingham Stallions two weeks earlier when the players "closed in on" her, "yelled insults," "made dirty remarks," and one of them "was stroking my calf with the plastic handle of a razor." The team president, who had seen the confrontation from the doorway, defended the players, telling her "it is not a proper place for a female to be." He added that her behavior was "'very unladylike' and said women who go into locker rooms just want to look at naked men."[60] In essence, the woman sportswriter was accused of having caused the men's bad behavior. She was being blamed and criticized for doing her job.

IV. Let's Define Women Another Way

This theme was less insidious than the others but still pervasive enough to warrant mention. Throughout the period, many women featured for their journalistic accomplishments were nevertheless also identified according to marriage or motherhood. A number of studies have suggested that women are more likely than men to be described in the news in this way,[61] lowering the women's status as worthy of sole coverage in the news in their own right, as men are usually portrayed.

One typical example was a 1979 piece about the new woman president of the national Society of Professional Journalists. In addition to her numerous professional accomplishments, the story noted, "Equally, she is a wife, mother and grandmother." It later added that she has been married to her husband for six years, "Jean adds with a special smile."[62] An article about the death of a woman journalist in Nicaragua identified her as "Linda Frazier, a 38-year-old mother who worked . . . , " and later, "She was the wife of Joseph Frazier, central American correspondent for AP." The family ties of a male cameraman killed in the same explosion were not reported.[63] A woman syndicated columnist who writes a financial column aimed at women is "married and has a teenage daughter."[64] A *Washington Post* writer who has a syndicated column about the media has hobbies, a 2-year-old daughter and a husband, who is named.[65] A woman advice columnist who writes for both an American and Japanese newspaper "is 73 and . . . she and her husband have been married more than 51 years."[66] A woman syndicated columnist who writes a career advice column is married to the president of Sun Features, which syndicates her column.[67] And a woman syndicated food columnist has a husband who recently wrote a book, a daughter who is a lyricist and a son who is an attorney.[68]

The lengthy 1979 feature article about a woman columnist covering the Boston Red Sox ended on this strange unrelated note: during the baseball season, she met and married a New York broadcaster. In the last paragraph, the article announced that she now wants her mail addressed to "Mrs. Jonathan Schwartz" because "it's less confusing that way."[69] While there is no reason to believe she did not make the statement, the information was in no way relevant to the rest of the story. Readers might have been left with the impression that for all of this writer's accomplishments, she still harkens back to a less equal, Ozzie and Harriet role.

In addition to the family ties that appeared in so many of the articles about women journalists, an article described two of the four women being featured in terms of their weights. The 1979 feature about women sportswriters described one as a horse racing writer weighing just 103 pounds – something "her many jockey friends . . . envy." Another sportswriter – a woman covering the "violent" sport of hockey –was described as weighing 105 pounds.[70] Although articles featuring male sportswriters were not examined, it is hard to imagine a male journalist being described in an article in this fashion. It brings to mind the condescending "little bitty you" descriptions of women's small stature.[71]

V. You Can't Have it All

Repeatedly -- in articles about women journalists in *Editor & Publisher* – is the lament (or warning) that women journalists cannot have both a successful career and motherhood. In these stories, women journalists with families said they were often guilt-ridden and neglectful of their families in order to work as journalists. Work "experts" told women they must choose between high-level careers and family. Media personnel managers warned that if women were to become successful journalists, they needed to better manage their obligations at home so that those commitments did not interfere with work.

The issue first emerged in 1979, when the new woman president of the Society of Professional Journalists said it is "tougher" for women who want both a career and children, noting that "allegiances can be divided once that child is put in your arms."[72] Three months later, readers read a feature story about seven women recognized for their achievements at a Women in Communications event. Several explained that they had to pay a high personal price for their success in journalism. Explained Charlotte Curtis, the *New York Times* associate editor: "I think to get to the top I couldn't have had children and a family."[73]

A lengthy 1982 article describing discrimination problems for women journalists noted hindrances for women journalists who were mothers or became pregnant. One woman editor responding to a survey said she "never would have been promoted to my present job if they had known I was pregnant."[74]

The story about the University of Maryland's "pink collar ghetto" study reported that women journalists "lose ground" after career interruptions while men gain ground.[75] The feature article about the only female photographer at a major newspaper in China described her very busy career life, then noted that she and her husband have their son in boarding school during the week. The story continued: "Sometimes, Xiameng said, she is late picking him up on Saturday evening, but, when she has time, she takes him out . . . " leaving the impression that her son is in boarding school because she is too busy with her job to care for him during the week.[76]

A 1986 article about a Women in Newspaper Management Conference quoted a journalism professor who stated that "women are forced to make choices"[77] between journalism careers and family. The theme was reiterated by the director of editorial development for Scripps Howard Newspapers, who said that any woman considering upper management jobs "has to consider the costs to her personal life."[78] A year later, readers were told of the findings of a new study linking women journalists and high stress. The article noted that women with children were struggling the most with stress and that many women journalists surveyed told of being needed by their children but unable to get away from work, resulting in feelings of guilt and stress. Men in the study complained "more about conflicts with their superiors than with their personal life." [sic][79] Research and anecdotal accounts have frequently noted that women journalists have tended to be less likely than male journalists to have children.[80] Perhaps the repeated messages telling women they must make sacrifices and choose between the two has played a part.

VI. Mainstreaming

Only twenty of the eighty-seven articles examined here seemed, upon analysis, to focus upon the accomplishments, shortcomings, or setbacks of individual women journalists without connecting the news to gender. Most of these appeared in the final three years of the study period, suggesting that perhaps, over time, women journalists became more and more viewed as normal elements in the staffing of a newsroom rather than oddities. Even when the news was not positive, such as the jailing of a journalist for failing to turn over her notes from a story, the lack of focus upon gender makes it more likely that a reader would interpret the story as a setback for journalists rather than a condemnation of women journalists.

Because this section focuses upon what was left out of articles rather than what was included, it is more difficult to illuminate the examples. But, in short, they included: a feature about a reporter's "rookie year" at a community newspaper,[81] two stories about the admission that Janet Cooke had fabricated her Pulitzer Prize-winning articles for *The Washington Post,*[82] six separate feature stories about syndicated columnists,[83] four articles about a Colombian journalist who was detained as she tried to enter the U.S. and later expelled,[84] a first-person account from one of the last western journalists to leave

Beirut,[85] a feature about a new columnist at the New York *Daily News*,[86] a feature about an advice columnist who wrote for both a U.S. and Japanese newspaper,[87] a story detailing accusations that a former Associated Press reporter had spied on the CIA for the leftist Nicaraguan government,[88] an article about a woman journalist from China working on an exchange program for the *San Francisco Examiner*,[89] and two articles about reporters jailed for refusing to testify in criminal cases.[90]

XIII. Discouragement and Pessimism

In addition to the themes detailed so far, the overall tone of many of the articles about women journalists during this study period was negative and pessimistic. Besides the twenty articles in which women journalists were "mainstreamed," there were only another seven articles that contained information that could easily be viewed as optimistic or favorable to women journalists. These articles described women journalists who denied having ever suffered any sex discrimination on the job,[91] quoted women journalists who said it was now an advantage to be a female in the field of journalism,[92] or highlighted the high level of gender diversity in staffing and management at *USA Today*.[93] Another featured the publisher of a Florida newspaper who quit a country club that did not allow women to be voting members.[94] Still another described the appointment of an 11-member committee of women at the *Orlando Sentinel* to determine if there was "sexist content" in the newspaper.[95] And finally, an article featuring syndicated foreign correspondent Georgie Anne Geyer was highly complimentary of women journalists. Women "come to journalism" she said, "with an affinity for understanding certain kinds of issues – including overpopulation and the exhaustion of resources." She added that women "'don't come in as part of the power structure,' so their minds are 'freer' to grasp the world as it really is."[96]

But for the most part, steady readers of *Editor & Publisher* in this decade may well have come away from their contact with the magazine discouraged about the status of and prospects for contentment and equality on the job for women. Several included quotes, statistics or anecdotes about sexual harassment or unfair treatment for women journalists.[97] Three articles described how newspapers were not covering women's issues adequately.[98]

A telling example of the gloom and doom came in a November 1984 column written by a woman editor. While she noted the accomplishments of women journalists toward equality, she continued, "we're still asked if we can stand the pressure of the fast track, still asked if our husbands will mind not having dinner on the table at 6 o'clock. We're still asked if we'll cry when things don't go our way. We're still afflicted with 'golly, gee, whiz, it's a girl.'"[99]

The same year, a lengthy article described the resignation of cartoonist Garry Trudeau from the National Cartoonists Society because of the way the organization handled its "Salute to Women Cartoonists" program. The magazine designed for the ceremonial dinner contained nude drawings of Miss Buxley from the comic "Beetle Bailey" and of the "Fat Broad" character in the comic "B.C.," and ceremony speakers referred to the women cartoonists as "girls." In his resignation letter, Trudeau wrote: "While publishing drawings of naked female cartoon characters may be the society's idea of a 'salute' to women, it certainly isn't mine."[100]

The negative theme continued with a telling example in 1986. Readers were told in a feature article about women sportswriters that the number of women doing this job had dropped from the previous decade. Readers might not have been surprised if they read on to this quote from a woman sportswriter who described her job this way: "It's tremendously difficult. Like women guards in prison or women going to medical school, you're harassed and humiliated more than you should be."[101] A 1987 interview with a new woman columnist at the New York *Daily News* said that her appointment to a job that had been vacant for two years "was hardly met with cheers. She imagines that 'They weren't real happy that an outsider was brought in,'" later adding that there was noticeable "tension" toward her at the office Christmas party.[102] That same year, readers were told about a new study assessing stress in the newsroom which concluded that the stress was worse for women than men journalists. Women journalists were "less satisfied with their salaries than men and more subject to stress-prone behavior and stress-related health disorders," the author wrote. Some 62 percent of women respondents had considered leaving their jobs, compared to 52 percent of men.[103]

Conclusion

Historical academic studies and surveys can provide considerable insight into the status of women journalists during the decade following the settlement of the *New York Times* sex discrimination case. Yet, it is also illustrative to see what journalists may have read about themselves in the foremost trade magazine of its time that covered the newspaper industry. Just as anthropologists and ethnographers examine the rituals, taboos and folklore of various cultures to better understand them from the inside, it is important to try to understand women journalists' professional standing from within. Looking more closely at the depictions provided by those who followed and covered the industry on an ongoing basis is a sort of folklore. For it is they – the keepers of the chronicles of record about journalism – so to speak, who can provide some insight and description that might not be found elsewhere.

As coverage in *Editor and Publisher* illustrates, despite the important growth and struggles for women journalists in the 1970s, the next decade brought more battles. The articles examined during the ten years following *The New York Times* sex discrimination case illustrate how women journalists continued to struggle for equality and contentment on the job. Women journalists reading *Editor & Publisher* magazine might well have come away with the impression that the profession was not progressing very quickly to rid itself of discrimination and stereotypes and was providing little support to women struggling to be both successful and happy on the job and at home. While the media attention paid to these problems might have given the industry more impetus to chip away at solving them, they nevertheless provided more proof that the struggle was far from over for women journalists.

Did some of the portrayals occur because of the ways in which women describe themselves or are described by men when being interviewed? Or were the more stereotyped, deprecating aspects instead selected and highlighted by the reporters writing the articles? While this distinction was impossible to know, the end result was the same, regardless of the reasons why such coverage occurred. Women readers of *Editor & Publisher* probably came away from its coverage during this period feeling that equality was still a struggle for many women journalists. Perhaps this was why retention started to become an issue for women journalists during or shortly after the period examined.

Notes

[1] A study by The Freedom Forum found that most of the growth in journalism and communications enrollment has been due to the number of women taking up such studies, beginning in the 1970s. Without the increases in the number of women studying journalism and mass communication, there would have been "an actual decline from 1973 to 1991 in the total number of degrees granted by American four-year institutions." See: Debra Gersh Hernandez, "Tracking Myths About Journalism Education," *Editor & Publisher* 128, no. 37 (16 September 1995): 18.

[2] Notable sex discrimination lawsuits and official complaints were lodged during the 1970s by women journalists at the *New York Times, Newsweek, Time, The Washington Post, Newsday, Reader's Digest,* the Associated Press and NBC. See: Nan Robertson, *The Girls in the Balcony: Women, Men, and the New York Times* (New York: Random House, 1992). 198-199.

[3] Marion Marzolf, *Up from the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* (New York: Hastings House, 1977), 201.

[4] "Since 1989, the Women, Men and Media project's annual surveys have consistently concluded that women are significantly underrepresented in the news." See, Penny M. Miller, "Teaching Women in the News: Exposing the 'Invisible Majority,'" *P.S.: Political Science & Politics* 29, no. 3-4 (1996): 515.

[5] Women are quoted less often than men in business and economic stories reported on national network news and in four national newspapers and magazines. A study also found significantly fewer female reporters than male reporters on the network news programs and the print media studied. "Some progress made in media coverage of women and the economy, but economic news still a male bastion," *The Freedom Forum*, http://www.freedomforum.org/templates/document.asp?documentID=6465>(June 25, 2002).

[6] Hernandez, "Tracking Myths About Journalism Education," 18-19.

[7] Paul S. Voakes, "The Newspaper Journalists of the '90s: Profiles of the Workforce," *American Society of Newspaper Editors*, 1997, <http://www.asne.org/index.cfm?ID=2480> (June. 26, 2002).

[8] Maurine Beasley, "Newspapers: Is There a New Majority Defining the News?" in *Women in Mass Communication*, ed. Pamela J. Creedon (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1989), 186.

[9] Kim Walsh-Childers, Jean Chance and Kristin Herzog, "Women journalists report discrimination in newsrooms," *Newspaper Research Journal* 17, no. 3-4 (1996): 69.

[10] Sue Lafky, "Economic Equity and the Journalistic Workforce," in *Women in Mass Communication*, ed. Pamela J. Creedon (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1989): 166.

[11] Beasley, "Newspapers: Is There a New Majority," 188.

[12] "Media Women Poll: 1980s Not a Decade of Progress," *Editor & Publisher* 123, no. 6 (10 February 1990): 13.

[13] Two Indiana University researchers found in interviews with 636 U.S. daily newspaper journalists in 1992 that retention was becoming an increasingly notable issue – particularly for women journalists. By 1992, they found there was little change in the share of women journalists at newspapers from a decade earlier despite "rapidly increasing enrollments of women in U.S. journalism schools during the 1980s, and the emphasis on hiring women since the late 1970s." See Weaver and Wilhoit, "Daily Newspaper Journalists in the 1990s," *Newspaper Research Journal* 15, no. 3 (1994): 5.

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[14] "Newsroom employment drops sharply; diversity increases," *American Society of Newspaper Editors*, <http://www.asne.org/index.cfm?id=3432> (June. 26, 2002).

[15] Weaver and Wilhoit, 8.

[16] Mark Fitzgerald, "Survey: D.C. women equal in newsrooms, not out," *Editor & Publisher* 129, no. 44 (Nov. 2, 1996), 15.

[17] Kim Walsh-Childers, Jean Chance, and Kristin Herzog, "Sexual Harassment of Women Journalists," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 73, no 3 (1996): 559, 565-6, 569.

[18] Phyllis Miller and Randy Miller, "The Invisible Woman: Female Sports Journalists in the Workplace," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 72, no. 4 (1995): 884-887.

[19] Hernandez, "Obstacles facing women journalists," *Editor & Publisher* 129, no. 16 (April 20, 1996): 12.

[20] Fitzgerald, 15.

[21] Sherry Ricchiardi and Virginia Young, *Women on Deadline, A Collection of America's Best* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1991), 15.

[22] Ricchiardi and Young, 40.

[23] Marilyn S. Greenwald, "'All Brides Are Not Beautiful' The Rise of Charlotte Curtis at the New York Times," *Journalism History* 22, no. 3 (Autumn, 1996): 107.

[24] Ann Reilly Dowd. "Some Moms Who Made It," *Columbia Journalism Review* 37, no. 2, (July-August, 1998): 12-13.

[25] At the time, *Editor & Publisher* also was widely seen by newspaper journalists or would-be journalists who were searching for a new job. Its classified ad section for journalism jobs was extensive during this decade.

[26] These articles were collected following a search through the "Business Periodicals Index" using the search terms: women's newspapers, women's periodicals, women in broadcasting, women in publishing, women journalists, women in the mass media, women—salaries, women—employment, sex in newspapers, and wherever those search terms led me to other cross references to articles about issues related to women journalists, appearing in *Editor & Publisher* magazine.

[27] Of the eighty-seven-article set, twenty-nine included photographs of women, and thirty-seven were at least a full page in size or longer. The average page number location where each article began was page 31. The most articles about women journalists or women's issues was published in 1987, when eighteen appeared. The fewest – two – appeared in 1981. Twenty-three of the articles were authored by women. Another twenty-six were written by men. Fourteen included bylines whose gender could not be determined, and twenty-three contained no bylines.

[28] "Newsday women settle for cash and better job opportunities," *Editor & Publisher* 115 (13 March 1982), 41. "AP settlement called precedent for newspapers," *Editor & Publisher* 116 (2 July 1983), 13. Roy Whitcomb, "Sex-discrimination battle," *Editor & Publisher* 118 (22 June 1985), 30, 33. Andrew Radolf, "Wage discrimination battle rages on in Cleveland," *Editor & Publisher* 118 (14 September 1985), 40, 47. James E. Roper, "Guild says *Washington Post* pays blacks, women less," *Editor & Publisher* 119 (27 September 1986), 17, 22. Jane Roehrs, "EEOC case against *Clearwater* (Fla) *Sun* settled," *Editor & Publisher* 120 (1 August 1987): 14. Andrew Radolf, "Women file discrimination complaints with EEOC against UPI," *Editor & Publisher* 120 (8 August 1987), 29. M.L. Stein, "Promotion priorities questioned,"

Editor & Publisher 120 (15 August 1987), 14-15. Andrew Radolf, "Employee unrest at New York *Newsday*," *Editor & Publisher* 120 (5 December 1987), 24.

[29] Radolf, "Wage discrimination battle," 40.

[30] Roper, "Guild says *Washington Post*," 17.

[31] Stein, "Promotion priorities questioned," 14.

[32] B.H. Liebes and Samantha Stevens, "Women editors feel less discrimination," *Editor & Publisher* 115 (11 September 1982), 48, 36-37.

[33] Lenora Williamson, "Beyond tokenism: Women photographers focus on their status and how to achieve managerial roles," *Editor & Publisher* 118 (17 August 1985), 17.

[34] Debra Gersh, "Chauvinism on the sea," *Editor & Publisher* 119 (7 June 1986), 14.

[35] M.L. Stein, "Sexism in the newsroom," *Editor & Publi*sher 120 (4 July 1987), 9.

[36] George Garneau, "Women on the masthead: Panel discusses the obvious: there just aren't many," *Editor & Publisher* 121 (11 June 1988), 114.

[37] Hiley H. Ward, "Books in Review," *Editor & Publisher* 121 (1 October 1988), 32.

[38] Dan S. Blumenthal, "Four women make their mark as sportswriters," *Editor & Publisher* 112 (28 July 1979), 16-17.

[39] John Consoli, "Woman sports columnist shakes up the Red Sox," *Editor & Publisher* 112 (6 October 1979), 22-23.

[40] "Women earn large share of national contest awards," *Editor & Publisher* 115 (25 December 1982), 48J.

[41] Nicholas C. Chriss, "She does it all!" *Editor & Publisher* 118 (18 May 1985), 14.

[42] Jim Haughton, "Women sportswriters," *Editor & Publisher* 119 (20 December 1986), 13.

[43] David Astor, "NFC panel features women columnists," *Editor & Publisher* 121 (15 October 1988), 62.

[44] A content analysis of coverage of the women's movement in *The New York Times*, *Time* and *Newsweek* from 1966 to 1986 found that coverage was frequently framed to emphasize dissension within the movement. This "may have limited involvement from new members who did not want to join a fractured group," and "marginalized" the group. See, Laura Ashley and Beth Olson, "Constructing Reality: Print Media's Framing of the Women's Movement, 1966 to 1986," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (1998), 269.

[45] Williamson, "Beyond tokenism," 17, 45.

[46] James E. Roper, "Pink-collar ghettos?" *Editor & Publisher* 118 (2 November 1985), 34-35.

[47] Susan H. Miller, "Was 'Pink Collar' ghetto study deliberate sensationalism?" *Editor & Publisher* 118 (23 November 1985), 52, 32.

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[48] Maurine H. Beasley, "In defense of the 'Women in Journalism' study," *Editor & Publisher* 118 (14 December 1985), 44.

[49] James E. Roper, "Battering down the barriers," *Editor & Publisher* 118 (30 November 1985), 30.

[50] Debra Gersh, "Advice to women journalists," *Editor & Publisher* 119 (22 February 1986), 44.

[51] Don Sarvey, "Thoughts from a foreign correspondent," *Editor & Publisher* 120 (14 March 1987), 50.

[52] Carla Marie Rupp, "Press women urged to exercise clout," *Editor & Publisher* 112 (6 October 1979), 12.

[53] "Speaker says dailies should hire more women," *Editor & Publisher* 112 (9 June 1979), 12.

[54] Carla Marie Rupp, "Improvements are sought in covering women's news," *Editor & Publisher* 113 (18 October 1980), 38.

[55] "AP settlement called precedent," 13.

[56] M.K. Guzda, "Surpassing its goals," *Editor & Publisher* 117 (28 July 1984), 9.

[57] Williamson, "Beyond tokenism,"17.

[58] Gersh, "Advice to women journalists," 16.

[59] Carole Rich, "A close-up look at women journalists," *Editor & Publisher* 120 (5 September 1987), 56.

[60] Joan Ryan, "Women in the locker room," *Editor & Publisher* 118 (23 March 1985), 8.

[61] Often, women in the news are portrayed as victims, perpetrators or discredited sources. Men are more often portrayed in positions of power, authority or for notable achievements. Physical descriptions and "familial relations" are also much more likely to be noted in the references to women.
See, Penny M. Miller, 514.

[62] Lenora Williamson, "Jean Otto: First woman president of SPJ/SDX," *Editor & Publisher* 112 (17 November 1979): 12.

[63] "Death in Central America," *Editor & Publisher* 117 (9 June 1984): 12.

[64] David Astor, "She aims money messages at women," *Editor & Publisher* 119 (18 January 1986), 35.

[65] David Astor, "A media person who covers the media," *Editor & Publisher* 120 (12 December 1987), 51.

[66] Michele McCormick, "Helen helps U.S. and Japanese readers," *Editor & Publisher* 120 (19 December 1987), 32.

[67] David Astor, "Writer's career is offering career advice," *Editor & Publisher* 121 (6 August 1988), 35.

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[68] David Astor, "Eating matters are on her writing menu," *Editor & Publisher* 121 (1 October 1988), 53.

[69] Consoli, "Woman sports columnist," 23.

[70] Blumenthal, 16.

[71] When she won the Pulitzer Prize for her *New York Times* series about toxic shock syndrome in 1983, journalist Nan Robertson said that she was congratulated and hugged by the *Times'* retired managing editor, who "held her at arm's length and said with a smile: 'What's a little bitty thing like you doing winning the Pulitzer Prize?'" Robertson later wrote, "I found his remark thoughtless and patronizing. I deserved the prize, and I knew it and I said it." See Robertson, 236.

[72] Williamson, "Jean Otto: First woman," 12.

[73] "7 women named to WICI's chairs of achievement," *Editor & Publisher* 113 (26 January 1980), 28. Later, when Curtis was diagnosed with breast cancer, she told only very close friends because she was afraid it would stop the *Times* from further promoting her. See, Marilyn S. Greenwald, "'All brides are not beautiful,' the rise of Charlotte Curtis at the *New York Times*," *Journalism History* 22, no. 3 (1996), 107.

[74] Liebes and Stevens, 36.

[75] Roper, "Pink-collar ghettos?" 34.

[76] Chriss, 30.

[77] Gersh, "Advice to women journalists," 16.

[78] Ibid., 44.

[79] Rich, 45.

[80] See, for example, Mark Fitzgerald, "Survey: D.C. women equal in newsroom, not out," *Editor & Publisher* 129, no. 44 (2 November 1996), 15.

[81] Dan B. McCarthy, "A reporter's 'rookie' year," *Editor & Publisher* 112 (28 July 1979), 15.

[82] John Consoli, "Editors weigh impact of fake Cooke article," *Editor & Publisher* 114 (25 April 1981), 9-10, Lenora Williamson, "Controversy swirls over Pulitzer Prize judging," *Editor & Publisher* 114 (25 April 1981), 11.

[83] David Astor, "Fusing the political with the personal," *Editor & Publisher* 117 (16 June 1984), 48-49. Astor, "She aims money messages," 34-35. Astor, "A media person who covers," 50-51. Astor, "Writer's career is offering career advice," 34-35. Astor, "Eating matters," 52-53. "Linda Ellerbee doing KFS feature," *Editor & Publisher* 121 (15 October 1988), 63. "Weekly feature focuses on feminist-related matters," *Editor & Publisher* 121 (31 December 1988), 32.

[84] "Colombian journalist denied entrance into U.S.," *Editor & Publisher* 119 (25 October 1986), 15. "Deported Colombian journalist sues INS for $5 million," *Editor & Publisher* 119 (8 November 1986), 22. "Colombian government supports journalist barred from U.S.," *Editor & Publisher* 120 (10 January 1987), 15. Debra Gersh, "Colombian journalist sues U.S. government," *Editor & Publisher* 120 (31 October 1987), 16-17, 41.

[85] Liz Sly, "Fears of a reporter in Beirut," *Editor & Publisher* 120 (14 March 1987), 17.

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[86] Richard Laermer, "A successor to Breslin?" *Editor & Publisher* 120 (20 June 1987), 17, 34.

[87] McCormick, "Helen helps U.S. and Japanese," 32-33.

[88] "Did journalist spy on the CIA for the Sandinistas?" *Editor & Publisher* 121 (4 June 1988), 13.

[89] M. L. Stein, "Chinese writer examines San Francisco," *Editor & Publisher* 121 (11 June 1988), 120, 152.

[90] M. L. Stein, "Reporter refuses to surrender notes, is ordered to jail," *Editor & Publisher* 120 (31 October 1987), 13. M. L. Stein, "Judge says reporter who witnessed arrest can refuse to testify," *Editor & Publisher* 120 (26 December 1987), 18.

[91] Carla Marie Rupp, "Three women who handle the news," *Editor & Publisher* 113 (17 May 1980), 16. Gersh, "Chauvinism on the sea," 14.

[92] Liebes and Stevens, 48. Gersh, "Chauvinism on the sea," 14.

[93] "Equality in staffing – a key element at *USA Today*," *Editor & Publisher* 118 (26 October 1985), 30.

[94] Debra Gersh, "Publisher quits country club that refuses to let women vote," *Editor & Publisher* 119 (5 April 1986), 15.

[95] M.K. Guzda, "Not a male-chauvinist newspaper," *Editor & Publisher* 117 (7 July 1984), 15, 31.

[96] Sarvey, 50.

[97] "Survey shows salary levels for press women," *Editor & Publisher* 112 (9 June 1979), 35. Susan M. O'Neill, "18 women attend conference on managing papers," *Editor & Publisher* 113 (1 November 1980), 31. Liebes and Stevens, 48, 36-37. M. L. Stein, "Advocacy journalism – is there a place for it?" *Editor & Publisher* 118 (21 December 1985), 28. "Press women in New Mexico," *Editor & Publisher* 119 (21 June 1986), 80. Stein, "Sexism in the newsroom," 9, 39. Mark Fitzgerald, "Many women leaving newspapers," *Editor & Publisher* 120 (17 October 1987), 9.

[98] M.K. Guzda, "A need to reevaluate," *Editor & Publisher* 117 (30 June 1984), 15. Guzda, "Not a male chauvinist newspaper," 15. Astor, "NFC panel features women," 62-63.

[99] Linda Grist Cunningham, "'We've come a long way, baby'," *Editor & Publisher* 117 (24 November 1984), 52.

[100] "Controversy over sexism flares in the cartoon world," *Editor & Publisher* 117 (16 June 1984), 50.

[101] Haughton, 12-13.

[102] Laermer, 17.

[103] Rich, 56.

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History

AEJMC Convention

Miami Beach, August 7-10, 2002

Class awareness in the formation of British journalists, 1886 to the present

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Class awareness in the formation of British journalists, 1886 to the present

Anthony Delano

> *An unfortunate dichotomy runs right through the whole journalistic profession. Some regard themselves as professional men and others regard themselves as workers, required to hold out for a certain stint of words, for a fixed pay and to get the maximum pay for the least amount of work. The two points of view are represented by the Institute and the NUJ.*—Cynric Mytton Davies, vice-president of the Chartered Institute of Journalists, to the 1974 Royal Commission on the Press.

> *The Institute of Journalists is popularly known as the bosses' union, while the NUJ is more for the lads, the ordinary journalists.*—Russell Kerr MP (Lab) to a House of Commons Standing Committee 27.6.74.

Entry to journalism in the United States of America had become, by the second half of the twentieth century, firmly based in or on a college education. American journalists might not be among the 52 per cent of the occupation with degrees in Journalism or fields associated with it, but 94 per cent of them under the age of 36 hold degrees of some kind.[1] In Britain, the proportion of today's journalists who are graduates has also reached a high level—84 percent in 1997—but the quotient of 'vocational' degrees is far lower. For the greater part of the last century preparation for journalism in Britain was kept in check—as it continues to be in some measure—by that most British of attitudes, class awareness. This paper will examine the origins of divided views on the ways in which aspiring journalists should be trained in—or *educated for*—the occupation. It will contend that the position of journalists at the beginning of the twentieth century contained the seeds of present-day considerations of status, occupational hegemony and organisational preference (or the lack of it). It will argue that the rival outlooks of two journalist organisations that were founded on either side of the beginning of the twentieth century continue to dominate the controversy over whether journalism can best be taught in the classroom or learned in the newsroom. It will conclude that:

•Progress made in overcoming ingrained prejudice against pre-entry preparation has been initiated and directed from outside the media industries that benefit from it.

•Changing notions of social ranking have eventually allowed journalists to elude formal occupational ranking and define their own status.

Most of the data on which the conclusions are based were gathered in the course of a series of surveys I conducted during the mid-1990s, the first of their kind in Britain, which applied a methodology similar to that used in the United States by Weaver and Wilhoit in 1992 and 1996. The complete results of that project are yet to be published in full. Secóndary sources for the characteristics of the British journalist are so sparse that there is a danger of over-dependence on the few to be found, such as those stemming from the efforts of Anthony Smith and Jeremy Tunstall; but only one authority, Harry Christian, addressed the question of class directly, and then from an unashamedly Marxist perspective. Much valuable supporting material was found in unpublished theses.

Nineteenth century

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, journalists had little reason to doubt the success with which printing, the oldest method of mass production, had been converted into the newest of professions.* Until well into the century newspaper production was centred on an editor who was often less a journalist or master printer than an amalgam of unelected politician and small businessman. Frequently he functioned on behalf of a patron who wished to exert influence either on his (very occasionally her) own behalf or that of a political party. Newspapers existed less to inform their readers than to influence them and through them governments. Writers of editorial 'leaders', usually the editor in person, were the focus of the operation; the function of reporters and correspondents was to keep the editor well informed.[2]

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* As journalism was accepted to be in the eighteenth century—a concept, according to Smith, built partly around the central tenet that had distinguished the early printer-publishers: the professional right of anonymity that protected sources and allowed writers to express their views free from social repercussion or the consequences of libel.

The gradual abolition of Stamp Duty, the infamous if hypocritically labelled 'tax on knowledge', led to the popularisation and commodification of newspapers. That in turn caused a decline in the status of subordinate journalists even before advances in typesetting, printing, communications and distribution combined to make their occupation less exclusive. The term 'gentlemen of the press' had become ironic usage as early as 1835. Even firm supporters of a free press agreed that it had become 'degraded from the rank of a liberal profession':

> the employment and the class engaged in it sink: and the conduct of our journals falls too much into the hands of men of obscure birth, imperfect education, blunt feelings and coarse manners, who are accustomed to a low position in society, and are contented to be excluded from a circle in which they have never been used to move.[3]

Here is a hint of the nervousness that journalists had already come to induce in office-holders and the well-off. They were no longer drawn from the same social ranks as political and economic grandees and could not be depended upon to share similar social and behavioural priorities. That attitude can still be divined in the insistence of British governments and successive Establishments, right up to the present day, that the occupation should be kept in its place: one undeserving of professional status.

By the last few years of the nineteenth century the triadic social model had developed: upper, middle and lower classes. Few journalists would have qualified for its top layer by then and many would have been in the bottom one. Journalism had become

> a one-time profession that was being degraded into a trade, and a shockingly underpaid and exploited one at that...for the mass of working journalists there was nothing but unlimited hours for pittances...the older men were looking longingly back to what were described as the 'good old days' of the profession thirty years before. The young recruits hopelessly struggled to shoulder the burden of their shabby gentility.[4]

The transformation of journalism that had been brought about by industrialisation had its greatest effect on ordinary reporters. For a few happy years their mastery of a new skill, systematic shorthand, had brought them respect and prestige—and introduced a revolutionary element into the gathering and presentation of news: accuracy.

> A fully competent shorthand reporter seemed to have acquired an almost supernatural power and shorthand was invested with the same kind of social optimism as the microphone and the television camera in later times.[5]

The advent of mass circulations and mechanised production exemplified in Alfred Harmsworth's revolutionary *Daily Mail*, the first truly 'popular' British newspaper, completed the metamorphosis of the journalist from an individual practitioner who might be likely to own or edit a publication at some stage of his career to an employee of some large and anonymous company. In the bombastic new world of high-speed rotary presses, Linotype machines, competitions, sponsorship and sales drives journalists soon became outnumbered by other groups of workers until

> instead of being employed by 'colleagues' whose motives were professional as well as economic [they are now] just one category of hired labour among others.[6]

The twentieth century's new man of journalism was the sub-editor. Born of the need created by the telegraph to cobble together stories from a variety of sources, the 'sub' had come into his own with the increasingly complicated design and editing requirements of the new newspapers, his deskbound role a 'startling development...spoken of with amazement by journalists'.

> There is fierce competition among the papers...in order to miss nothing they have to employ an army of sub-editors to fly through tons of matter at lightning speed, fastening instinctively on any 'point' worth a par...and crystallise it into a few lines.[7]

This shift of emphasis from fact gathering and writing to processing helped transform newsrooms into models of Weberian efficiency or, as Christian saw them, a 'controlled and mechanically organised workplace'.

Institute v. Union

Since in pay and employment conditions rank-and-file newspapermen had become more like 'factory workers or routine non-manual workers in any industry', their employers remote and impersonal, some of them began to behave accordingly. The organisations referred to above are the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) and the Chartered Institute of Journalists (IOJ). Both are still in existence: the first enjoying something of a revival; the second moribund. It would be convenient if the rival outlooks of the two could be discussed solely in terms of trade union versus professional organisation—as the views quoted at the head of the paper might suggest—but the issue is not so clear-cut. Nor is it possible to present the views of the NUJ and the IOJ on preparation for journalism as consistently polarised between 'practical' training and 'elitist' education. For one thing, the polarity has sometimes been reversed; for another, the views of third and fourth parties must be considered: those of publisher-proprietors and of the academic establishment. What *may* be said is that at no point in the irresolute and confused efforts made across more than 100 years to establish standards for entering or practising journalism in Britain have any of these factions come close to agreeing on a coherent framework of recruitment, preparation or qualification. Their intermittent attempts to do so amount to a sorry tale of false starts, missed opportunities, bungling, pretension and inverted snobbery.

Threatened with the erosion of their status from professional to artisan, distinguished *fin-de-siecle* journalists, editors and essayists who felt their social standing and influence to be at risk, set out to ensure, as old William Gladstone who was proud to be one of them put it, that they remained a cut or two socially above their readers.[8] The idea of belonging to a 'profession' acquired great cachet in the era of late-Victorian prosperity and there were numerous examples of trades thus elevating themselves by means of 'Royal Charters'. Those *litterateurs* of the national press and the equally status-conscious proprietor-editors of local newspapers set out to follow the example of engineers, accountants, architects and the like who had organised themselves into associations that won legal recognition.

The 'gentlemanly' character and status-building aims of the IOJ's founders became evident soon after its reification as the Association of Journalists in 1886, when it elected as its president Sir Algernon Borthwick, proprietor of the *Morning Post*, the oldest and most staid of London dailies, and a Conservative Member of Parliament. The Association became the Institute in 1889 and received its charter the following year, thus achieving, it believed, professional status—at least for its members. The founding document declared the Institute a Body Corporate formed to promote the elevation of status and improvement of the qualifications of journalists' and empowered to admit candidates to membership 'by examination in theory and practice, or by any other tests'. In petitioning for this privilege, the institute pledged to compel 'the observance of strict rules of conduct' and to set 'a high standard of professional and general education and knowledge'. These aims were not pursued with any urgency then or subsequently.

Journalists who were less concerned with emulating *arriviste* neo-professionals than with the more pressing matter of wages soon saw that so long as the IOJ included proprietors and editors as members it could hardly function as a collective bargaining body. In the wider world, few 'professionals' and white-collar workers of this era had maintained close contact with their unionised blue-collar counterparts but journalists were still intimately yoked with the stone-hands and compositors who had been among the first industrial workers to organise themselves. The IOJ members who broke away to form the NUJ set out to emulate the trade union model that had gained printers such a high degree of control over pay and conditions. They were obviously aware of nuances, whether felt in terms of status, class or raw domestic economics, that distinguished their perceived function from that of the 'professionals' they were leaving behind. The minutes of the Manchester Press Club which recorded their first informal meeting did not even mention 'journalists', referring to 'a League or Association of reporters, sub-editors, and others engaged on the Press...'. Nevertheless, the National Association of Journalists was formed and in 1907 became the NUJ.[†]

Where control over entry and training was concerned, the NUJ adhered—in common with printers—to the principle of apprenticeship favoured by most artisan organisations: a beginner should be accepted for the job first, a process usually entailing some degree of patronage or malleability, and only then be trained. Since this method—once described as 'sitting next to Nellie—entailed a high level of emulation and occupational socialisation it ensured that the practices of one generation were passed on to the next with minimal revision or reflection. The NUJ obviously regarded this form of selection as sufficient (for the time) control of entry to the occupation; it was one of the few matters on which it was in accord with employers. It did not seem to occur to its leaders then—and does not to many of them today—that endorsing a form of training essentially modelled on the requirements of an employer was unlikely to do much to empower journalists, individually or collectively.

Despite the IOJ's ostensible commitment to the 'professional' concept, its occasional efforts to establish an ethical structure and an entry qualification scheme were effectively doomed by its hybrid membership. In its initial enthusiasm the IOJ did draft a basic entrance examination (1889) and then a scheme for 'pupil-associates' similar to that employed by barristers (1893). It even worked out a curriculum with London University (1908) for a two-year postgraduate course that was heavily weighted towards general education but included some practical instruction in newspaper work. None of these measures was ever implemented, nor for many years to come did the upper echelon of the IOJ show any interest in improving the pay or working conditions of journalists, least of all the proprietor members, basking in their 'professional' ranking, who 'feared a reduction of their prerogatives and advantages as employers'.[9]

[†] The discrepancy in earnings between these interdependent occupations appeared as a repeated theme in journalists' public correspondence of the early 1900s and provoked the demand that a fully qualified journalist should be paid at least the same wage as a Linotype operator in the same office (a similar demand could be heard in the 1960s and 1970s).

In the 1930s, prodded by a faction of the membership that remained motivated by its original values, the IOJ did make an abortive effort, by sponsoring a bill in Parliament, to set up a statutory Journalists' Registration Council, similar to one established by architects, to register journalists and supervise the award of diplomas (which were never to eventuate). That was the only attempt ever made to introduce a qualification that could have led to a form of licensing for journalists. Such an outcome, though, could never have succeeded without the complicity of the NUJ to which—however much it might yearn for a closed membership—the idea of a qualifying credential was anathema.

Throughout the first quarter of the century the two organisations had a numerically comparable membership. But when it became apparent how effectively the NUJ was raising its members' status by raising their income, a large number of IOJ members became eager to share the spoils. Helped by those NUJ members who wanted to establish a monopoly of journalist labour, four attempts were made to merge the organisations, the first two in 1916 and 1920. On each occasion a majority of IOJ members refused to abandon (as the NUJ insisted they must) their founding principle of including employers or their representatives in the membership. Members were

> not going to turn out a brother journalist because he happens to have a few shares in a newspaper or has attained to a position of influence thereon. We exist to look after the interests of the profession—profession not a trade—and if we do not care about trade union methods it is not because we have lost sight of the journalist and care only for the proprietor, but rather because we have a nobler conception of our calling and believe it can be raised by other and better methods.[10]

A final attempt at reconciliation took place in 1969 in the form of a 'trial marriage' when for a period a member of each organisation was recognised as being a member of the other. Thus the 'tradesmen' of the NUJ became eligible, in the words of an IOJ grandee, 'for the priceless gift of professional status...through a body honoured by a Royal Charter'.

During the years that these rival organisations wrangled over whether their members were practising a profession or a trade, social scientists spent even more time attempting to define

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Class awareness in the formation of British journalists, 1886 to the present

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'profession' in terms of occupational function and, of course, status, the over-riding concern of the IOJ. They never did succeed and certainly none of the painstaking definitions produced provided an appropriate match for journalism. The more the characteristics of journalism were compared to various defining factors of 'profession' the more tempting it seemed to turn to the robustly radical opinion of the judge who in 1919 was asked by the Australian Journalists Association to rule on the matter: journalism was *sui generis*—a tag that Australian journalists have gleefully flaunted ever since.[11] The intrinsic contradictions of the IOJ were never resolved. This year its membership was 1550; that of the NUJ 36,514.[‡] Only about 44 per cent of British journalists belonged to either.

Aspirations fulfilled

Nevertheless, in the view of a majority of present-day British journalists, the aspirations of the IOJ appear to have been fulfilled, albeit inadvertently. Weaver and Wilhoit tried to relate American journalists and professional standing by assessing such variables as membership of organisations and readership of journals. My British surveys put the question to the journalist respondents themselves. If those respondents who preferred to call journalism a *vocation* were added to those who chose *profession* they would far outweigh those who saw it as a *trade* or *craft*, the terms frequently used outside the IOJ. Broadcasters were firmest in the view that their occupation deserved to be considered a profession. Although the general rejection of *trade* as a description was evident, newspapermen and women seemed the most reluctant to abandon the connotations of *craft* and *vocation*.

British respondents were also invited to choose several occupations into which university coevals might have gone whose practitioners were socially equivalent. A clear majority regarded the status of journalists as comparable to that of lawyers, teachers and university lecturers, accountants, engineers (although not to barristers, surgeons or dentists). The source of that conviction could well be factors described by Bryan Turner as important modern determinants of socio-economic ranking. He identified a 'subjective' dimension in the concept of status which contributed to individual perceptions of prestige, as well as the 'objective' dimension that related to socio-legal entitlements. He argued that 'the location of a group within the social system is expressed by their taste, which is as it were the practical aspect of lifestyle'.[12] This could be seen as consistent with Weber's insistence that an individual's place in society depended on cultural and legal-political factors as well as economic ones being revived as, in short: 'lifestyle'. Nevertheless, the confidence of journalists in being moved to compare themselves to their credentialised counterparts in the recognised professions can only flow from the graduate status so many of the present generation have achieved.

[‡] 10% in publishing or public relations; 10, 000 'Life' members, usually retired.

What is the best term to describe journalism?

%	Broadcast	Periodical	Newspaper	All
Craft	14.9	14.4	16.4	15.2
Trade	9.8	11.5	9.0	10.1
Profession	56.9	50.6	50.5	52.6
Vocation	16.7	20.6	21.7	19.6
Not sure	1.7	2.9	2.4	2.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Journalism and academia

It took World War One to bring journalism and academe together in Britain. The idea of an academic qualification in journalism remained a principle of IOJ policy but when in 1919 one was eventually launched, in the form of a confused and ill-fated offer of a London University diploma, the initiative came from the Ministry of Labour as a re-entry measure for servicemen returning from World War I. The course was to be open to applicants who could show some connection with the press before their military service—or those who could convince a selection committee of their suitability. Neither journalist organisation was involved until the course was well under way.

London University authorities were clearly baffled by the concept of vocational training. The course they devised offered a diploma *for* rather than *in* journalism (foreshadowing the paradigm of a later debate). It was inaugurated, with a lecture to 102 students, by the editor of *Punch*, Sir

Owen Seaman, on The Art of Parody. The course itself could have served as an example. It belonged to none of the university's departments or faculties; it had no monitoring system for evaluation apart from examination results and, for 16 years, no premises of its own. There was no practical instruction in journalism until the third intake of the course and then for only one day a week during term. Students were advised to learn shorthand and typing privately. One prospective candidate, dismayed at the lack of practical instruction, sent for a University of Missouri prospectus packed with course titles such as Advanced News Writing and Newspaper Make-up to show what was really required.

The only structural element provided by the university was an advisory committee. Even when the NUJ was given two seats on it (against one for the IOJ) the union showed no inclination to depart from its industrial model of indentured apprenticeship. It seemed universally accepted that the local and regional press must remain the principal breeding ground. A journalist was expected to gain a grounding in the provinces and steadily work his or (far less frequently) her way towards London, home base of the national press, the apex of a career in terms of both status and income.

The first batch of London University diplomates numbered only 29 (of whom four were women) of the inaugural 102. Tutors complained about the time required to repairing defects that might not have been present if matriculation had been a condition of entry. Nevertheless, the diploma concept became the recurring focus of discussions about external preparation for journalism. The NUJ wrote to 13 universities asking for advice on appropriate courses for journalists. There seemed to be nothing suitable in existing curricula, it said, for 'the creation of an educated profession with a common consciousness and aims'.

Responses from the eight universities that replied seem in keeping with the bemusement shown by London University at being invited to impart skills as well as knowledge. Several of them included the suggestion that the most suitable forum for instruction in journalism might be the Workers Educational Authority, which ran night schools. This was probably typical of the resistance in British universities to offering vocational training on academic campuses at that time but the effect could seem far-reaching:

> the kind of journalism we have today is, to some extent, the result of the inability of academics, over the past century, to respond positively to requests from journalists to help educate them for their professional role.[13]

Editors were suspicious of the London University diplomates; even pitying.[§] Linton Andrews wrote of the 'bitter hearts among those who spent two hard years on learning to be journalists without ever getting the humblest job in a newspaper office'. His own view of what was required would have delighted an examiner for today's resolutely 'trade' orientated National Council for the Training of Journalists, whose dubious role will be discussed shortly:

> a certain speed in shorthand, a habit of accuracy, a wholesome and knowledgeable fear of libel and of contempt of court and acquaintance with local council, magistrates' court, county court and other procedure (1962:71).[14]

The diploma course was suspended at the outbreak of World War Two and never resumed. Hunter blamed the IOJ for its failure to provide a yardstick for pre-entry training .

> In their search for status for their profession the members of the Institute of Journalists sought the respectability accruing from academic accreditation without foreseeing the possible consequences of their initiative. By submitting to the university's insistence on the purely academic approach to their problem, with no department to organise the teaching, the journalists perpetrated a basic, craven mistake from which the Diploma never really recovered (1982:165).

Ideological stand-off

The issues were never publicly defined, but soon after the end of World War Two sides began to form for an ideological stand-off that pitted training *in* against education *for* journalism which, occasionally refreshed by ill-timed government intervention, was to last beyond the end of the

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[§] Established journalists in the United States were also suspicious of the early Journalism graduates. Edwin Godkin, the influential (and British-born) editor of *Nation*, believed journalism was a 'gift' that could be imparted only in a newspaper office (Salacetti 1995: 60).

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remaining half-century. London University sought to revive its journalism diploma but the proposal confounded the journalist organisations and employers alike. The university wanted the course subsidised by the newspaper industry; the industry refused. The Newspaper Society had come to oppose any suggestion of further or higher education as a preparation for journalism and was interested only in practical training. The Newspaper Proprietors Association (now Newspaper *Publishers* Association), representing the national press, reiterated the policy it has largely adhered to ever since: the only journalists wanted by national newspapers were those who were already fully competent and experienced. In short, those who had already been trained elsewhere. National newspapers—and for that matter the BBC—have never had to provide any but the most limited training; even now the journalists those organisations employ were, in the main, shaped by employers further 'downstream'.

The opposed views and objectives of the IOJ and the NUJ would have been sufficient to ensure continuing disagreement over who might become a journalist and how (and what it meant to be one). Confusion over standards of entry had been compounded by harsh employment conditions during the 1930s and the organisational turmoil of World War Two. Employers remained at liberty to take on anyone they wished irrespective of whether they had any qualifications or not. This was a fundamental barrier to genuine professional status to which the IOS, fixated on status, seemed oblivious. During and immediately after the war a large number of men and women, many of them conspicuously talented, became established as journalists (and subsequently members of either the NUJ or the IOJ) without the benefit of any formal training at all.

In reality, the industrial career structure was never more than an ideal. Even with the 'trade' model flourishing, pre-war agreements in the provinces with the Newspaper Society on minimum salaries and the ratio of juniors to seniors were regularly breached because they were based on age. Employers of the pre-war period were tempted to keep their reporters as young as possible, preferring not to have to take on anyone over 17 to train. Such a policy closed off this avenue of entry to those who would not graduate from university until they were several years older than that.

Between 1944 and 1946 the NUJ and the IOS held desultory discussions with the Newspaper Society about a national vocational training scheme. Indignant at the employers' vacillation, the union prepared a report of 'these protracted proceedings' for the first Royal Commission on the Press in 1947. The Commission went a good deal further in supporting the case for an educated corps of journalists than either the journalist organisations or employers would have preferred. It recommended the formation of a body to take responsibility for, among other matters, the education and training of journalists.

Fears that a government capable of appointing such a commission might be ready to take its own steps to impose training standards moved the Newspaper Society and the journalist organisations to create a National Council for the Training and Education of Junior Journalists (NCTEJJ) which was intended to perpetuate the trade union principle of exclusively post-entry training. It was to award a National Certificate of Proficiency (NCP) based on the sternly practical: English, Law, Public Administration, shorthand and typing—much the same instruction in journalism that the NCTJ, the NCTEJJ's successor, continues to require in the year 2002.

Every organisation involved in setting up the scheme demanded some sort of concession to the 'trade' view that for different reasons all shared. The NUJ was persuaded to agree only by an assurance that it would be represented on the NCTJ panel that selected candidates and the Newspaper Society gave an undertaking that the union would be consulted on the 'supply of labour', a token nod in the direction of controlled entry. The underlying NUJ agenda was union solidarity. That of the parochial members of the Society was the creation of a workforce of limited ambition which could be kept 'down on the farm'.

Since Newspaper Society members were to finance the training council its relationship to the NCTEJJ was unashamedly clientist. Far from intending to encourage any idea of professional autonomy—or, indeed, effective journalism—apprenticeships (and subsequent training schemes) were usually devised from the point of view of managerial advantage. The value to employers of a lengthy indenture period during which trainees provided cheap labour was as evident to them as the socialisation implicit in on-the-job training was reassuring to the union.

Nevertheless, the NUJ—not the IOJ—fought to retain the diploma principle; Clause Four of the NCTEJJ founding document specifically mentioned the desirability of providing facilities for further education in addition to those for vocational training. But the union's educational ideas had to be 'severely pruned' before the Newspaper Society would accept them.[15]

Essentially, the NCTEJJ scheme was structured around an apprenticeship spread over five years: six months probation, three years basic training after which the examination for an NCP could be taken, then 18 months to gain a diploma by means of a dissertation. Candidates had to be nominated by the editor who wished to employ them. Articles bound the trainee to follow the curriculum and the employer to provide training in accordance with NCTEJJ requirements. Thus, a graduate applicant would be faced with a period of qualification, including time at university, as long as that for medicine. In 1955 'Education' and Junior' were dropped from the council's title and it became the NCTJ, proof to those who favoured a high-level of pre-entry preparation that the provincial newspaper industry, at least, 'did not want education but training'. The diploma, too, withered away. It was to be another 20 years before the NCTJ explained that the notion of further education embodied in its mission statement was

> not designed to give a wide or profound education but to provide trainees with bodies of knowledge on matters connected with their work as journalists.[16]

In the light of its subsequent near-sanctification in the minds of many editors, it is instructive to note that the National Certificate was neither universally acclaimed nor widely coveted—then or later. The participation rate fluctuated, the drop-out rate was high; the failure rate even higher. Only gradually did it seem to dawn on those defending the training side of the debate that the difficulty many candidates had with the examinations might lie in the relatively low standard of education that employers were ready to accept. When a veteran editor, Linton Andrews, became chairman of the NCTJ and discovered that beginners with good high school grades performed twice as well in proficiency tests as those without he was 'amazed'. The subversive thought occurred to him that his colleagues could be mistaken in their seemingly unshakeable conviction that there must be 'bright boys' somewhere in society's lower echelons who would make crack reporters if only they could master their own language. Andrews wondered if the 'traditionalists' were

> not being out of date in supposing that today's Edgar Wallaces are forced to leave school too soon and take the humblest employment as they did a generation ago.

The concern generated over poor results led the NCTJ to establish of full-time one-year courses in technical colleges and polytechnics, the first real step to 'overturning the belief held by so many for so long—despite a great deal of evidence to the contrary—that the newspaper office was the only possible venue for imparting knowledge of the journalist's trade'[17]

By the 1950s there was a shortage of trained—or at any rate experienced—journalists, due in part to the growth of the public relations industry and the setting up of the Government Information Service, whose regular hours and Civil Service perquisites had tempted some veterans away from the hurly-burly of the newsroom. The launch of commercial television and radio about the same time, coincided with the early output of the expanded postwar tertiary education programme, creating an eldorado for many ambitious and motivated young graduates. Despite strong resistance from the reactionary tradesmen, any who displayed a natural flair were often able to get jobs without any formality. The precipitate increase in the number of women in journalism dates from this era, as does a sharp acceleration in the inexorable if spasmodic displacement of occupational preparation from one site to another.

Graduates who did infiltrate the newsrooms of the time were frequently made to feel uncomfortable. Shifts in demography and social perceptions had made the triadic model obselete. Social research of the late 1940s and 1950s had come to be guided by the binary notion of 'us and them': 67 per cent of Britons choose to describe themselves as working class and only 29 per cent as middle class. It is a safe assumption that most of the established journalists of the period, certainly those who identified with the NUJ and its view of the occupation, would have seen themselves—or have been seen by their colleagues—as belonging to the larger working-class group. The new wave of graduate journalists was the harbinger of yet another social change.

Closed shop

The sympathetic atmosphere of successive Labour governments in the 1960s encouraged the NUJ and the IOS to make their greatest effort towards common cause. In coalition (although overwhelmingly dominated by the NUJ) they achieved, briefly, a virtual closed shop, insisting. that no entrant could escape the obligation of a formal apprenticeship. Graduates were compelled to spend two and a half years working in the provinces before they could be employed in London. These strictures applied even to graduates emerging from training courses that had been launched by some employer groups, the BBC included. There was also a ban in principle on the regular use of non-member contributors to newspapers. Only 'trained, full-time and committed' journalists, it was said by the organisation enforcers, were qualified to write for newspapers.

For a time these obstructions further impeded the influx of graduates and discouraged many young regional journalists who were impatient to achieve national status. It also irritated editors who wanted to hire whoever they considered best suited to the work they wanted done. Among those who attacked the NUJ policy was David Astor, then editor of *The Observer*, who argued that 'as a general principle' journalism was a creative or semi-artistic occupation, with important political aspects. He opposed any measure that would keep 'gifted people' from contributing to it. Many *Observer* staff journalists—who might be thought to have a vested interest in excluding 'outsiders'—supported Astor, motivated by a consideration that, implicitly, remains valid for the majority of journalists today: the next step on from restricted entry to journalism could be some form of licence to practise.

The intervention of the government at this time seemed to go against the recommendations of its own Royal Commission about raising the calibre of entrants to journalism. It set up training boards for various industries and in 1968 the Printing and Publishing Industries Training Board (PPITB) was charged with supervising training in the entire printing and publishing area. Its main interest lay with the manufacturing side of the print industry. Journalists were estimated to number fewer than 20,000 employees out of a total of 400,000 affected.

The NCTJ was compelled to surrender most of its functions to the PPITB. It was allowed to remain in existence as an examination body and registry and to be responsible for the selection of pre-entry students. The NCTJ never regained the authority it lost in being sidelined nor, subsequently, the financial security that came from the subsidies that ended when the PPITB was dissolved in 1982. The NCTJ was thereafter sustained only by an agreement through the Newspaper Society that publishers would pay it an annual charge according to the number of journalists they employed. This commitment was frequently not honoured and the NCTJ became dependent on fees for the registration of trainees, the administration of the proficiency tests and short training courses offered to practising journalists. In this fashion it limped along until 1992 when it was relaunched as a training and examining body dependent on fees—and the largesse of the Newspaper Society.

Although the plight in which it found itself was not directly of its own making, the NCTJ, throughout its 16 years of existence before the PPITB elbowed it aside, had been far from an exemplary training body. The only real impact it had made was in achieving (via the NUJ) the 1961 agreement with newspaper employers that training should be obligatory and even that, in view of the extent to which the principle was ignored in practice, must be regarded as a hollow victory for the 'trade' faction.

Plausible discipline

True to its ideological strategy the PPITB had declined to support a project planned by Tom Hopkinson, a visionary journalist who wanted to explore the viability of pre-entry university courses in journalism as a plausible academic discipline in its own right. This decision moved the *UK Press Gazette* to reflect that

> there are a number of newspapermen who regard any form of university training with abhorrence, just as there are many academics who regarded newspapers with contempt...the suspicion seems to be that the Training Board has fallen under the spell of those who abhor.[18]

The NUJ's earlier interest in the potential of university preparation was stimulated. It underwrote a two-year fellowship at the University of Sussex so that Hopkinson could develop a postgraduate diploma. The course envisioned was eventually to be inaugurated at University College, Cardiff in 1970.[**]

The postgraduate diplomas that Hopkinson pioneered were well established and respected by 1985 (although bachelor level degrees still lay in the future) and it may thus be inferred that the proportion of graduates moving into journalism was rising. But educational and employment policy did not appear to recognise that the nature of the occupation and its practitioners had changed. In 1985 a system of National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ) was introduced as a Conservative government 'initiative' to provide qualifications 'which met the real need of employment'and would be 'available to anyone able to achieve the required standards'.[19] Anyone that is who was already in work, for NVQs like the NCE certificate, were intended not as pre-entry credentials but as tokens of competence in the workplace. They were to be 'industry-led' awards and journalism was included with 880 occupations from Accountancy to Zoo-keeping. Once again, graduates who had been readied for journalism by a rounding higher education experience were being expected to take trade tests.

[**] Hopkinson was not enthusiastic about a bachelor level degree in journalism because he feared such an award would be too limiting should a graduate subsequently want to change his or her mind about a career. He also believed that journalism would benefit from practitioners who had been trained in a variety of disciplines.

From their inception NVQs were embroiled in confusion, duplication and bureaucratic exuberance; but they provided a new opportunity for the NCTJ to keep itself in business. In 1992 it relaunched as a limited company, 'saved', as its chairman Don Mildenhall told the first annual meeting, 'to serve the needs of the industry, as well as trainees'.[20] What saved it, for the most part, was the need for a source of NVQ examiners and the enduring insistence on the part of provincial editors that the National Certificate was the only valid credential—even when only 40 per cent of the young journalists supposed to have been trained in their newsrooms could pass the examination for it. Old fears lingered.

> If there is going to be a change, there's no doubt that two generations of NCTJ certified bosses must first be convinced that it will be better than the present system, at the same price or less, and as painless to the newsrooms if not more so.[21]

'Painless to the newsrooms' decoded into anxiety that editors who might not themselves have reached a particularly high level of education were worried that overeducated trainees could be hard to handle. 'Two generations of NCTJ certified bosses' would be all too likely to harbour misgivings about 'cosmopolitan' graduates who might be less willing than locally recruited trainees to settle down to a job for life on a newspaper in the provinces.[22]

But such misgivings had become irrelevant. By the end of the century non-graduate journalists were a minority and even if they could not always find the level of job they thought they deserved their degrees did something to restore the standing of journalists. Turner speculated that post-modern evaluation of status allowed for the possibility of a social system 'based upon somewhat different principles of stratification which will render much of contemporary sociology redundant'. He was referring to the phenomenon of the 'credential society' of which the present generation of journalists is demonstrably part.

> Because modern societies place this emphasis on personal achievement, educational success and the acquisition of credentials become crucial in the distribution of prestige and rewards (4).

Before the twentieth century was out, 70 per cent of newspaper trainees would choose 'middle-class' as a designation, which led to some of the 'dinosaur' editors aligning themselves, by instinct rather than reason, with the views of scholars who wonder if rising educational standards among journalists might eventually elevate them, culturally speaking, above their readers. 'If we are not careful, we are going to have staffs dominated by classes of entrants who have little in common with the people they are writing about', said the chairman of the survey by the Guild of Editors to which the trainees had responded. This view, which remains embodied in the policies of the NCTJ and Newspaper Society, underlies the questionable contention that for journalism to be effective its product needs to be delivered by people of the same background as those who receive it. For most of the modern media era journalists were catering to consumers many of whom were, by most criteria, their socio-economic superiors. The rise of the graduate journalist who enters the media industries with an informed intellectual grasp of the purpose to which sound journalistic skills are to be put has reversed that balance.

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The New York Times Perpetuates a Madman Stereotype of Charles Guiteau: A Qualitative Content Analysis

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Paper submitted to History Division, AEJMC annual convention, 2002, Miami.

ABSTRACT

The New York Times Perpetuates a Madman Stereotype of Charles Guiteau: A Qualitative Content Analysis

This study deals with press performance by **The New York Times** before and during the trial of President James A. Garfield's assassin, Charles J. Guiteau. The study focuses on how **The New York Times** – in news stories, headlines and editorials – covered the event during this emotionally charged time in American history. Evidence supported the contention that a madman stereotype was created and perpetuated by the newspaper that would have made if difficult for the defendant to receive a fair trial had the trial been held in New York City, rather than in Washington, D.C., where the crime occurred. The evidence also suggest the newspaper yielded to public opinion and perhaps acted in concert with the prosecution. It is also apparent that the paper was instrumental in creating a crazed or madman stereotype even as the paper sought to portray Guiteau as sane for purposes of expediting his conviction. The paper left little doubt as to Guiteau's guilt. In performing as it did, the paper abdicated its watchdog role.

The New York Times Perpetuates a Madman Stereotype of Charles Guiteau:

A Qualitative Content Analysis

This study deals with press performance by **The New York Times** before and during the trial of President James A. Garfield's assassin, Charles J. Guiteau. The study focuses on how **The New York Times** - in news columns, headlines and editorials - covered the event during this emotionally charged time in American history. Evidence was abundant to support the contention that a madman stereotype was created by the newspaper that would have made it difficult for the defendant to receive a fair trial had the trial been held in New York City rather than in Washington, D.C., where the crime occurred..

Three previous studies conclude that during the time of crisis newspapers help shape public opinion. One study (Sneed, 1988) concluded that an anarchist stereotype created by major American newspapers, including one in Buffalo, N.Y., where the trial of President William McKinley's assassin was held, molded public opinion in a way that resulted in the denial of a fair trial for Leon Czolgosz. Another study (Chiasson, 1985) concluded that two newspapers, one in the North and one in the South, tried to provide guidance during the emotional apex of the slavery issue following the raid on Harper's Ferry, Va., and the period leading to and just following the execution of the leader of that raid, John Brown. The study also concluded that one of the newspapers, the **New York Tribune**, appears to have propagandized in news reports in an attempt to shape public opinion.

Another study (Harding, 1937) suggested that in times of crisis "people turn more to their newspaper…for guidance than they normally do." Yet another study (Peterson, 1939), which concluded that newspapers help shape public opinion during times of crisis, also revealed that in times of crisis newspapers may fail to present an accurate representation of actual facts because events happen so quickly.

In this study the pertinent questions are: Did the newspaper create a stereotype of a madman which would have made it impossible for Guiteau to have received a fair trial? Did the newspaper perform responsibly? One researcher (Allport, 1954) has concluded that stereotypes allow people to simplify complex issues through reductionism into simple categories and to thus justify hostility. Another researcher (Lippmann, 1960) concluded that stereotypes are created because much of the world is "out of reach, out of sight, out of mind," and, consequently, that someone makes himself a "picture inside his head of the world beyond his reach." This study builds upon previous studies by assessing press performance and its possible effects upon whether Guiteau might have received a fair trial.

Method

Coverage was examined in **The New York Times** from July 3, 1881, which was one day after Garfield was shot and wounded, through June 30, 1882, the day Guiteau was executed. Three methods (Ardoin, 1973; Meadow, 1973; Meyers, 1970; Graber, 1971) of qualitative analysis were used: The content of news stories involving the Garfield incident was examined for evidence of stereotyping, the content of editorial comments on the Guiteau case and trial were examined for signs of stereotyping, and headlines were studied for the same reason. **The New York Times** was selected for this study because it was removed from the city where the assassination occurred and might have been less strident and stereotypical in its coverage of this event than would have been a newspaper in the city where the crime happened. A separate study could be conducted in the city where the assassination occurred to gauge the performance of the press in that locale.

Background

Guiteau's decision to assassinate Garfield may best be understood if analyzed in the context of the political and religious climate in place during the 1880s. Guiteau was born in Freeport, Ill., on Sept. 8, 1841. He grew up under the influence of his father, who was a devotee of a cult worship practiced at the Oneida Community. The elder Guiteau believed that he would never die, and thus some acquaintances considered him eccentric. Charles Guiteau lived in the Oneida Community when he was 18 and remained there for six years.

After leaving the community, Guiteau worked in a law office. In 1869, he married Annie Bunn, who divorced him five years later on grounds of adultery. Guiteau was expelled from the church for the same reason. He worked as a lawyer, a merchant, a publisher, a pawnbroker, an insurance salesman, and as a boarding house keeper. He never stayed at one residence for long since he defrauded hotels and landlords. An acquaintance (Donovan, 1955) said: "No one could have anything whatever to do with him without getting victimized to a great extent." In 1877, Guiteau decided to be an evangelist. He delivered speeches in dozens of cities on the topic of the Second Coming. He fancied himself as a skilled orator, and referred to himself as "Reverend" and "Honorable." He published his lectures in a book titled **The Truth: A Companion to the Bible.**

Guiteau's fateful switch from evangelism to politics took place in the Spring of 1880. He went to New York City in hopes of becoming a campaign speaker for the Republican Party. He even wrote a speech for Garfield's campaign and distributed the speech to Republican leaders at their August meeting in New York City. In Guiteau's opinion, he was instrumental in making Garfield president, and he thought the Garfield administration owed him a reward.

On March 5, the day after Garfield's inauguration, Guiteau left for Washington, D.C., as did other job-seekers. Appearing at the State Department daily, Guiteau claimed he deserved the consulship in Paris. However, he quickly turned himself into a nuisance. He approached members of Congress, sent the president and Secretary of State, William Blaine, a stream of memos and letters urging that his nomination be sent promptly. It never was.

Disappointed by the rebuff, Guiteau was also disturbed to read that the Republican Party was in a state of disunion. He blamed Garfield for this. Distressed and confused, Guiteau began to believe that if Garfield were out of the way, the party would return to normal. He prayed for two weeks and afterward decided that the Deity had spoken and it was his job to "remove" the president. Guiteau claimed God provided him with details to assassinate the president. He bought a revolver at a gunshop, practiced loading and firing it and waited for the time to come.

Garfield passed up chances to shoot the president. After learning from a newspaper story that the president was going to New Jersey with Mrs. Garfield, who had been ill, Guiteau waited at a train station but did not draw his revolver because (Donovan, 1955): "Mrs. Garfield looked so thin, and she clung so tenderly to the president's arm that I did not have the heart to fire on him." Two days later, the president returned to Washington, D.C., alone, and Guiteau again waited at the station. He did not shoot because, as he testified (Donovan, 1955), "It was a terribly hot, sultry day."

Guiteau visited the jail he thought he would be placed in if he were apprehended after the shooting, wrote a letter explaining his motivation to shoot the president, and the day of the shooting arranged for a hackman to drive him to a cemetery near the jail so that he would not fall into the hands of a mob. He then had his shoes shined and went to a newsstand and gave a package to an attendant to give to police. In the package he had a note (Donovan, 1955): "Washington, Monday, June 20, 1881: The President's nomination was an act of God. His election was an act of God. His removal is an act of God. (These three specific acts of the Deity may furnish the clergy with a text). I am clear in my purpose to remove the President. Two points will be accomplished. It will save the Republic, and it will create a demand for my book, **The Truth.** This book was not written for money. It was written to save souls. In order to attract public attention the book needs the notice the President's removal will give it. C.G."

When the president came to the train station en route to the start of a vacation, Guiteau drew the revolver and shot him in the back. A second bullet was also fired into the president. Garfield suffered for two months before he died. His long illness reinforced the public loathing toward Guiteau.

Guiteau's trial began Nov. 14, 1881. For 10 and a half weeks it lasted, with Guiteau repeatedly throwing the courtroom into disorder by delivering a running commentary on the proceedings and breaking into impromptu speeches. The marshals could barely restrain Guiteau as he did such things as call on President Chester Arthur to show gratitude for the assassination by contributing money for his defense. He abused witnesses, the prosecuting attorneys and even his own lawyers. In jail, Guiteau started his own business by selling his autobiography and self-portrait. He held daily receptions in his cell for reporters and visitors, and when the crowd was too large, he would parade himself before the crowd at the warden's invitation.

Guiteau's sole defense was insanity. His defense attorneys outlined a history of insanity running in the Guiteau family, and Secretary Blaine made the same comment (Donovan, 1955): "Why was this done? The man must be crazy." At trial, the insanity defense crumbled as Guiteau's sister testified he was insane, but his ex-wife claimed he was sane. Alienists (psychiatrists of the day) were split as to Guiteau's insanity.

Newspaper Coverage

Much of the coverage of the trial by **The New York Times** painted a picture of the defendant as an obstinate, erratic, fanatical, crazy, eccentric and wicked person who turned to assassination to wreak vengeance on the person he thought dashed his hopes for a public office. A front page story on July 3, 1881, one day after the assassination, carried a headline that read: "President Garfield shot by an assassin," and described Guiteau as a "half-crazed, pettifogging lawyer who has been an unsuccessful applicant for office under the Government, and who has led a precarious existence in several of the large cities of the county." Never was Guiteau referred to as the accused or the suspect, but instead he was identified as the assassin, the murderer, the dastard, the traitor, the wretched miscreant, the abominable creature, the crank, the crazy fraud, the dead-beat, the dastardly criminal and the miserable felon.

In the same July 3 issue, the paper editorialized in a news story: "We are filled with the shame and grief that even an American freeman can be so base as to make a felonious assault upon the President chosen by the people." On July 5, 1881, an editorial titled "Political Madness" began to create a crazed image of Guiteau: "Guiteau was a man of disordered mind. He seems to have been wanting in moral sense and mental balance. He had an exaggerated idea of his own ability and importance; he was doubtless embittered by disappointment; and while following his own vengeful impulses he may possibly have had a morbid notion that he was doing a political service for saner men."

In the July 5 issue, the paper proposed public lynching for Guiteau under a front page story with the headline: "The Dastardly Assassin." Proposing that Guiteau be brought before "Judge Lynch," the paper wrote: "He has too many personal enemies, men whom he has defrauded by petty swindles, and who would like nothing better than the chance of getting even with him. If a stray bullet should by chance happen to hit and kill the fellow there should be little sympathy, and few would care whether the murdered man had been in a condition in which he was not responsible for his act."

The paper also made much of Guiteau's short stature. He was five feet, five inches tall with a thin mustache and full beard. A July 4, 1881, story referred to him as having a "loony" appearance with "sunken cheeks and eyes far apart, which was a peculiarity of nearly all murderers."

Pastors helped whip up public sentiment against Guiteau as a flurry of sermons based on Garfield's deteriorating condition brought cries from the pulpit to do away with Guiteau. On Sept. 26, 1881, the paper published excerpts from a sermon by Rev. Emory J. Haynes in which he said: "The wretch who has done this deed must pay the penalty, and he must pay it speedily (applause)." Another pastor's words were: "Why does God, men ask, choose the strong and useful and let the worthless live? Why is the hero buried today and the infernal instrument of his destruction permitted to live? When the whole Commonwealth commits its interests to one man, then I say any attempt on his life should become treason, and death should be the potion for the traitor."

Guiteau's demise might have been hastened if a shot fired at him had hit its mark. The bullet missed, but in a Nov. 21, 1881, story **The New York Times** expressed the view that "the prevailing sentiment was one of regret that the bullet had not gone truer to the mark . . . The underlying feeling is that the fitting conclusion of the assassin would be death by assassination."

The newspaper showed reluctance to allow the judicial system to run its course during the trial. On Jan. 27, 1882, the paper wrote: "He (Guiteau) is even permitted to make an offensive exhibition of the colossal presumption and vanity which form the chief support of any theory of insanity in his case." The paper continued: "If it is possible for any human act to be so palpable in its character that there is no danger of wrongful pre-judgment, such an act is that of Guiteau, but the verdict of the people, already made up and not likely to be changed, can hardly be called a pre-judgment in view of the thorough study they have already given to the case."

The trial was a spectacle, an ugly one at that. The trial judge was criticized for lack of decorum in the courtroom. Guiteau disrespected the judge's authority, interrupted proceedings time and again, shouted at witnesses, the district attorney and even at his own attorneys. The newspaper coverage focused on Guiteau's responsibility for his actions and claimed that the defendant was not insane. The paper did not question Guiteau's weird behavior. The paper wrote in an editorial date Nov. 22, 1881: "Guiteau's turbulent manner in the courtroom is partly assumed, or fostered in hope that it will corroborate doubts of his insanity. Upon the country at large it is not having the effect, it is rather though to indicate extraordinary capacity for willful, obstinate, violent, brutal lawless purposes and acts."

Jurors reached a speedy verdict. The verdict came after just 25 minutes of deliberations. The promptness of reaching a verdict was applauded by the paper in a Jan. 27, 1882 story: "The only comment upon the result of the Guiteau trial is an expression of gratification that the verdict was so prompt. There was very little surprise, and no indications of sympathy with the assassin." In addition, the Jan. 27 story reported that applause in the courtroom was followed by "a salute of 50 guns fired in honor of the jury," and the writer added that "Humanity will breathe more freely when the hangman performs his already too long delayed task." When a Guiteau defense attorney decided to file a motion for a new trial, the paper wrote on Jan. 27, 1882: "We hope Mr. Scoville will not so far forget what is due to justice and his profession as to repeat the disgraceful lecturing exploit which he once performed in behalf of Guiteau." The paper even called for leniency on the behalf of the individual who tried to shoot Garfield. On March 26, 1882, the paper wrote: "Mason's punishment is generally regarded as excessively severe (he received an eight-year prison term)...Guiteau deserves to be shot like a dog; Mason tried to shoot him; therefore Mason should be applauded."

One week before Guiteau's scheduled execution by hanging, a group of physicians, who believed Guiteau was insane at the time of the assassination, asked for a reprieve to create a commission to determine his sanity. **The New York Times** would have no part of it. Writing under a headline "The Murderer Doomed," the paper's June 24, 1882, edition reported the decision of the Cabinet and the president was not to interfere with the execution. The paper also published letters to Guiteau reminding him of the death penalty, and published pictures of nooses of various kinds, black caps, coffins, scaffolds and references to hell or Satan.

Guiteau's execution brought on a carnival-like atmosphere. Nearly 4,000 people gathered outside the jail. Lemonade and cake were sold. Among the 250 people admitted to watch the hanging, some paid as much as $300 to watch it. On June 30, 1882, **The New York Times** wrote: "With death staring him in the face, Charles J. Guiteau, the assassin, has behaved today very much as he has acted every day for the year he has been in prison, showing no feeling betraying no nervousness, evincing not the slightest fear, and clinging still to the hope that at the last moment President Arthur will save his neck and turn him loose upon the world - a pardoned villain."

Conclusions

The New York Times did not act responsibly in its reporting of the Guiteau case. It never questioned jury selection. It never reported in a way so as to provide the defendant with a presumption of innocence, constantly referring in headlines, stories and editorials to the defendant as if he were already judged to be guilty. Of course, what appears to be irresponsible press performance must be weighed against the prevailing public opinion at the time. Inappropriate and unconscionable by modern standards, the newspaper's performance in 1881 and 1882 closely mirrored public sentiment.

The evidence gathered in this study suggests that the newspaper yielded to the public clamor and perhaps acted in concert with the prosecution. The paper's coverage reflected much of the public opinion that Guiteau was sane when he committed the crime, and the constant diatribe from the pulpit from ministers who wanted to hasten Guiteau's demise reverberated in news columns, editorials and headlines. It is apparent that the paper was instrumental in created a crazed or madman stereotype even as the paper sought to portray

Guiteau as sane for purposes of expediting his conviction. The paper left little doubt as to Guiteau's guilt or fate. In performing as it did, **The New York Times** abdicated its watchdog role. Had the trial been held in New York City instead of Washington, D.C., Guiteau could well have been denied a fair trial based on prejudicial, unfair newspaper reporting prior to and during the trial.

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